


# TIME

COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE



President-elect  
Barack Obama,  
Chicago,  
November 4, 2008

"Change has come  
to America."

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## 4 | TO OUR READERS

6 | **POSTCARD: KOGELO**  
Watching the election with Obama's relatives in their Kenyan village

## 10 | INBOX



**First Family** Obama pride in Kenya for a son, page 6

## BRIEFING

13 | **THE MOMENT** The U.S. elects Barack Obama as its new President

14 | **VERBATIM** Being close to Russia and other campaign quotes

17 | **POP CHART** From Joe the Plumber to terrorist fist jabs: a look back

20 | **MILESTONES** Farewell to Studs Terkel and Obama's grandmother



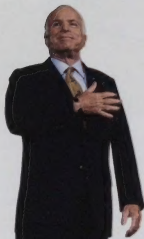
**Hillary Clinton** Tales from the campaign trail, page 14

## COMMENTARY

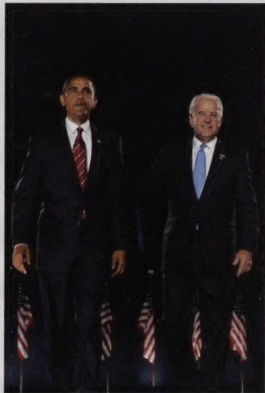
25 | **TUNED IN** James Poniewozik on the technical wizardry of election-night TV, and what was missing

26 | **IN THE ARENA** Joe Klein on what Obama's win says about the new "real" America

**John McCain** Tabloid headliner, page 17



PAGE 14 13 25 28 105 116



**Dynamic duo** Obama and Biden move forward, page 28

On the cover: Photograph for TIME by Brooks Kraft-Corbis

## THE WELL

## ELECTION 2008

28 | **YES HE DID** In a sweeping finale to a historic election, Barack Obama wins the presidency

42 | **HOW OBAMA WON** A state-by-state look

44 | **THE SENATE** A Democratic surge

46 | **THE HOUSE** Who won and who lost. Plus, state races and initiatives

49 | **10 CAMPAIGN FIRSTS** How '08 was different

56 | **CAMPAIGN DIARY** Insiders look back

60 | **COMMENTARY** T.D. Jakes on the color line

64 | **PHOTO PORTFOLIO** Two years with Obama

71 | **THE NEW AGENDA** From health care to farm policy: it's time to get to work

80 | **HILLARY CLINTON** The Senator on her next act

83 | **JOHN MCCAIN** What's in store after defeat

86 | **SARAH PALIN** Will she run in 2012?

88 | **BATTLE FOR THE GOP** Who will lead the Republican Party now?

91 | **HISTORY** 10 elections that changed America

97 | **ROOKIE PRESIDENTS** What they taught us

101 | **A NEW ERA DAWNS** The Age of Reagan comes to an end



## LIFE

105 | **GOING GREEN** Environmental activists get down and dirty with coal plants

108 | **FOOD** The bare-bones grocer Aldi thrives as consumers cut back on spending

112 | **USER'S GUIDE** Why go out when you can karaoke at home?

114 | **RIGHT ON YOUR MONEY** In a lean economy, friends are forming giving circles to help make charity go further

**Sarah Palin** What her next step might be, page 86

116 | **ESSAY: CHANCE ENCOUNTER** Pico Iyer meets the future President and sizes up his global appeal

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To Our Readers

**Ideas Matter.** In an exceptional election, we focused on the themes—and the candidate—that defined it. And in the end, democracy triumphed

EVERY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN HAS A narrative arc. That's a fancy way of saying it has a beginning, a middle and an end. We always cover that story, and this year was no exception. In fact, in October 2006—more than two years before Election Day and four months before Barack Obama even declared he was running—we forecast the final chapter: Joe Klein's prescient cover story, "Why Barack Obama Could Be the Next President."

But in this campaign cycle, we made a special effort to explore and analyze the ideas that shaped that narrative arc. In elections, ideas matter—they are the themes that influence how voters feel about the candidates. We did cover stories on "How Much Does Experience Matter?," on "How the Right Went Wrong," on "How the Democrats Got Religion," on "The Real Meaning of Patriotism," on "Why the Economy Is Trumping Race," on "Does Temperament Matter?" Even more than specific policy issues, these are the ideas and the discussions that voters use to make up their minds. And so we considered it our professional duty to explore and analyze these themes and ideas.

This special election issue looks both forward and backward, from Nancy Gibbs' virtuoso cover story to Klein's take on the best-run campaign he's ever seen to Michael Grunwald's assessment of the tasks facing the new President to T.D. Jakes on what it means to have a black President to Richard Norton Smith's wise essay on the end of the Reagan era to our great photographer Callie Shell's signature pictures of Obama behind the scenes, where she has been positioned for more than two years.

Our extraordinary political team was led this cycle by assistant managing editor Michael Duffy, ably assisted by Washington bureau chief Jay Carney. We also covered the election superbly in real time on [TIME.com](http://TIME.com)—spearheaded by [TIME.com](http://TIME.com) politics editor Daniel Eisenberg. The indefatigable Mark Halperin drove the daily conversation on The Page, and our political blog, *Swampland*, was a round-the-clock buffet of ideas, observations and anecdotes. Our national

political correspondent Karen Tumulty was everywhere. Michael Scherer covered John McCain; Jay Newton-Smith was on Obama, and Nathan Thornburgh excelled on Sarah Palin. And of course, the remarkable Joe Klein may have had his greatest election cycle since he first began covering presidential campaigns in 1976. In addition to *TIME*'s celebrated political team, the magazine and *TIME.com* had 30 correspondents and reporters following the vote on Election Day, from Miami to Billings, Mont., from Roanoke, Va., to Honolulu. And that included our Africa bureau chief, Alex Perry, who spent election night with Obama's extended family in Kenya.

The fact that people around the world woke up to learn that the new American President-elect is Barack Obama is in itself an enormous paradigm shift in their perception of the U.S. We will probably be a majority-nonwhite nation by the year 2042. In a very real way, Obama is the face of the new America.



From the beginning *TIME*'s 2006 cover story, top left, anticipated the remarkable campaign to come

But this was a signal and a transformational election that transcended race. Amid the worst financial crisis in a generation, it marked a return of the idea that politics matters in people's lives and that government has a necessary and positive role in making America a better place. The fact that we have the right not to vote is one of the beauties of democracy—it's a sign of the true freedom that we have. But the fact that people turned out in record numbers to vote in this election suggests that our democracy is engaged, that people are taking their civic responsibility seriously. And it's a reminder, as Justice Louis Brandeis suggested, that the highest office in a democracy is not that of President but that of citizen.

*Rich*

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR




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# Postcard: Kogelo. As Barack Obama becomes the first black U.S. President, his relatives adopt his win as their own. In western Kenya, watching the dream become reality

BY ALEX PERRY



**Global Dispatch**  
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**B**LOOD FLOWED AS ELECTION DAY dawned in Barack Obama's ancestral village in western Kenya. The presidential candidate's half brother, Malik, tied a bull to a tree, then hobbled it and asked me to hold the beast's head to the ground as he drew a machete across its jugular. "Hold this guy down now," said Malik, 50, eyeing the animal's horns as blood poured from its throat. "He could kill me." After five minutes, the blood flow began to slow, and the fight went out of the animal, which stopped kicking and lay still, breathing heavily. "O.K., it's over," said Malik. "Fine animal too."

Hours before polls opened in the U.S., the people of Kogelo were celebrating the ascension of one of their own to the most powerful office in the world. It's a miracle for the clan known as the Jor'Obama, or "People of Obama"—after Malik and Barack's grandfather—but it's murder on their animals. Meat is highly prized in a poor community like Kogelo, a pretty village with views of the green hills north of Lake Victoria. Cows and goats are the main measure of wealth here, and most villagers maintain a vegetarian diet. The past few days, however, have witnessed a comparative bloodbath: scores of chickens disappeared into a giant pot, whose contents will be served to all comers. Malik, inundated by relatives from across Kenya and the world, has been going through two goats a day; the morning of the election, he stepped things up a notch by serving two bulls. Scarcely had he dispatched the pair when he drove to the nearby market of Ngiya to buy two more for the next day.

The Obamas have descended on Kogelo to celebrate an event so improbable—so audacious, to use their American cousin's word—that, as Malik says, "it's beyond comprehension." The Jor'Obama have gone from barefoot subsistence farmers to the U.S. presidency in two genera-



Yes, he could Villagers gather in Kogelo, home of Barack Obama's Kenyan family

tions. Many still live the life of their grandfather, growing maize, millet and sweet potatoes and tending cows, chickens, goats and ducks. As the first-born son of the first-born son, Malik is the clan head, and at night the men build a fire outside his hut, drink moonshine and talk.

In his book *Dreams from My Father*, Barack Obama wrote of his return to Kenya, "I began to imagine an unchanging rhythm of days, lived on firm soil where you could wake up each morning and know that all was as it had

been yesterday, where you saw how the things that you used had been made and could recite the lives of those who had made them." And so it is.

Among the gathering Obamas are cousins Olga and Sasha, whose father married a Russian; cousin John Kennedy, who changed his name when he moved to the nearby city of Kisumu; Malik's brother Sadiq, who has brought his daughter Shami from Britain; and uncles Patrick, Tom and Elly and all their sons and daughters from Kendu Bay, who brew the moonshine behind their huts on the southern shores of

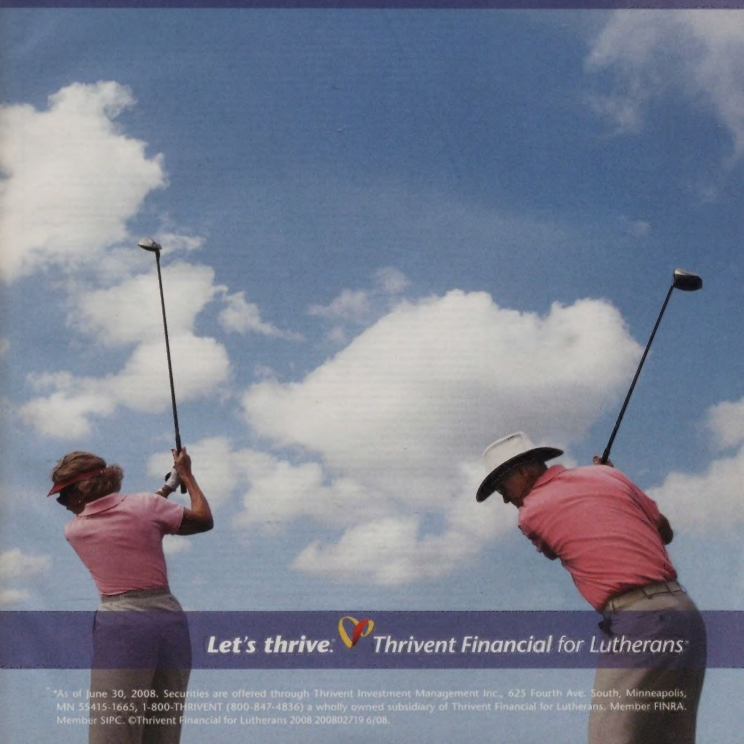
Lake Victoria. The Luo, the Obamas' tribe, have no word for cousin, so everyone is simply "brother," "father," "daughter."


The better I got to know the Obamas, the more astonished I became at the unlikelihood of Barack's ascension. This is the story of a grandfather whose stubborn will found a match in the austerity of Islam and drove his son to seek a scholarship abroad, which in turn led the young man to Hawaii, where he met and married Ann, a Christian, and had a son—who, at 47, will become the first black President of the U.S. There are so many unlikelihoods in his story that an Obama victory seemed like a fairy tale. As Election Day approached, I told Malik I was getting nervous for him. "Look, my father might have gotten a scholarship to someplace like Brazil, and none of this would have happened," he said. "My brother is not supposed to accomplish even half of what he has. It's meant to be impossible." And yet it happened, says Malik. "It makes you wonder. Is this some force at work, the dynamics of nature or life? Is it God? We divided the world after 9/11. And the world said no. And through my brother, we can all connect again." ■



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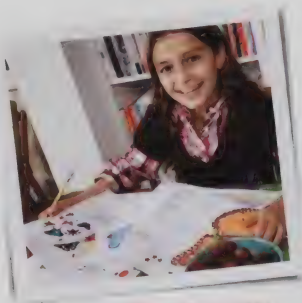
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## Battling Election-Day Glitches

MICHAEL SCHERER'S ARTICLE IS FULL OF GOOD information and good reporting [Nov. 3]. In the future, perhaps it would be useful to do a companion article on what steps are being taken by states, counties, political campaigns and independent groups to mitigate some of these potential problems. That ought to include information on what a voter can do on the spot when a problem is encountered at a polling place. Are there officials who can be contacted in case of a problem? Are there people from each campaign standing by ready to help?

Gail Goldey, SANTA FE, N.M.

## Where's the Beef?

AS A BARACK OBAMA SUPPORTER, I WAS excited to read that your cover promised "Exclusive: Joe Klein Grills Obama" [Nov. 3]. I felt that such a serious turn in reporting was exactly what the country needed. However, the article itself felt barely reheated, let alone grilled. Indeed, Klein refers almost apologetically to an earlier interview in which Obama "grew a bit testy when I pushed him on the need for universal health insurance and a more aggressive global-warming policy." Instead of continuing to push, Klein came off as merely pulling the Obama wagon toward the presidential finish line. Please, Mr. Klein, we finally have in Obama the grownup we've been missing for the past eight years. Grill

him like one! My stomach simply can't take being force-fed any more leadership that is, shall we say, half-baked.

Kelly McLaughlin, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

YOUR COVER SHOUTED OF AN "EXCLUSIVE" grilling of Obama, yet you sadly missed the opportunity to elicit some answers from the Democratic candidate. There was no grilling to be had. For that, Klein might have had to bring up any one of dozens of serious policy, experience and belief questions that might not serve the campaign's narrative. It is indeed sad that the first time Obama is likely to actually feel any grilling is in the boiler room of the Oval Office.

Jeffrey C. Kastelic

CRANBERRY TOWNSHIP, PA.

## PETA, Pets and Politics

THANKS FOR YOUR "10 QUESTIONS WITH Ingrid Newkirk," from People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) [Nov. 3]. When the future of the economy and politics is as uncertain as it is these days, it's refreshing to get Newkirk's reminder that the important thing in life is to do good, help others and be kind to all animals—not just the cute ones.

Anna West, RICHMOND, VA.

THE 10 QUESTIONS PUT TO NEWKIRK TRULY inspired me. I called over my two French poodles, patted and hugged them and left the house to have a Black Angus cheese-

## PROUD, WITH NO RESERVATIONS

YOUR POSTCARD FROM LAME DEER, Mont., brought back memories of my childhood, when locals would fling racial epithets like "redskin n—" at me [Oct. 27]. As I grew older, I denied having native blood, and it wasn't until I hit my late 40s that I started becoming proud of my heritage. In spite of the condescending attitudes of some non-Native people, it's heartening to see Native Americans accomplishing what would have been unheard of not so long ago: running tribal colleges for their children. There is a long way to go to cure the social ills that Native people face, but it is good to see a mainstream publication bringing such stories to the attention of the general public.

Rick Sheaffer, SANFORD, FLA.

burger combo with fries. While I enjoyed eating the delicious burger, I contemplated how some people feel empowered enough to step out and try to force their opinions and beliefs on others as if they were gospel.

Jonathan B. Smith, TORONTO

## Bad President, Great Film

I'M NOT SURE RICHARD CORLISS AND I watched the same movie [Nov. 3]. Oliver Stone most certainly did have a point of view in filming *W.*, his slice-of-life depiction of George W. Bush. The genius of Stone is that he can duplicate the emotions in the movie theater that we all feel in real life: confounded disbelief that a person like Dubya could ever become the President of the United States. Bush is perhaps the worst President we have ever had or, hopefully, will ever have. The first election, in 2000, was engineered, jockeyed and ultimately stolen. The second, in 2004, was actually won by Bush. To cite the phrase that he himself found so difficult to utter: Fooled us once, shame on them. But the second time around, shame on us. W. should be required viewing in every political-science class in the country.

Linda Calcagno Melchione  
EASTON, MASS.

**'The valiant Ingrid Newkirk personifies compassion in action. She has also done wonders for tofu and veggie-burger sales.'**

Brian Comerford, GLENVIEW, ILL.



**Dog's best friend** PETA co-founder Newkirk has put animal rights on the map

A photograph of a person's arm and elbow, showing several raised, red, scaly patches of psoriasis. The person is wearing a black watch on their wrist. The background is a solid green color.

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## The Obama Effect

THE MEDIA MAKE MUCH ADO ABOUT THE so-called Bradley effect [Nov. 3]. And it doesn't take a genius to see that John McCain and Sarah Palin have counted on this racial motivation to help them overcome the consequences of their poorly run campaign. But we must now factor in an even more potent quotient: the Obama effect—that quality whereby the more you get to know a politician, the more you like and trust him or her. This likability and perceived trustworthiness continue to grow over time. Across the board, Obama's ratings have steadily increased with key groups that had been cool toward him before. Likewise, regarding key questions—like, Whom do you trust to improve the economy, be Commander in Chief, handle taxes or handle the housing crisis?—Obama leads McCain in recent polls. Obama endures. He grows on you. He has time on his side. He is the new kid on the block you decide not to like but find yourself secretly admiring and then openly supporting. In future elections, politicians will have to factor in the Obama effect.

Lynn Capehart, LOS ANGELES

THE BRADLEY EFFECT? I PREDICT A REVERSE Bradley effect this go-round. It will be fueled by sweet old ladies who have been voting Republican since Eisenhower and rugged blue collar workers who were Reagan men but who can't bring themselves to press that button and vote for McCain-Palin. They won't admit it to their friends and family—or the exit-poll people.

Margie Shepherd, FREE UNION, VA.

## Campaign Comparisons

RE MIKE MURPHY'S "HERE BE MONSTERS" [Nov. 3]: To compare the ACORN incident, in which a few paid workers filled out bogus voter registrations (which were detected, reported and purged by ACORN) for financial gain, with the massive and well-documented efforts by the GOP to suppress and steal votes is beyond biased. Florida in 2000 and Ohio in 2004 were called Democratic on the basis of exit polls before mysteriously ending up on the GOP side, costing the Democrats both elections. In the two cases, state officials at the helm of the electoral process were GOP

loyalists, intimately involved in the presidential campaigns. With a dismal ethics record and an ideologically rationalized "end justifies the means" worldview, is there any doubt that an increasingly desperate Republican Party will continue to resort to what has worked in the past?

Francisco Rocco, LOS ANGELES

MURPHY CORRECTLY POINTS OUT THE many polarizing fears that motivate the directions and tactics of each major party's campaign. I would like to think that all the unethical conduct is only a mutual and relatively equal reaction to the other's bias. Yet an objective tally proves otherwise. Obama's mistakes have been mainly exaggerations and minor factual errors. He has also used some sound bites and headlines that may offer misconceptions about McCain's motives and ideas. However, when it comes to innuendo, unethical half-truths, character assassination and, yes, plain miserable, rotten lies—I would give McCain the prize. It is obvious that he has veered hopelessly away from ethical conduct and is no longer the man he claims to be. There is no real relative equality in his departure from civility.

Peter A. Johnson, SUPERIOR, WIS.

## America's Pastime

WHILE A SMALL PART OF OUR HEARTS GOES out to Bryan Walsh for his support of perennial also-rans the Philadelphia Phillies, we decry his suggestion that baseball is "past its prime" [Nov. 3]. It is true that the '08 season saw a small dip in attendance, but that probably had a good deal more to do with the loss of discretionary income than a problem with the game itself. This year the Fall Classic may not reach as many viewers as some previous contests, but we find the game as it ever was: entertaining, fair and fun. Swing away!

Kevin Laurence, BUFFALO, N.Y.

NO MATTER HOW INSIGNIFICANT THE Tampa Bay Rays' accomplishments may seem to Walsh, the very least he could have done is acknowledge that the American League Champions of 2008 hail from St. Petersburg, Fla.—not the city of Tampa, as noted in both the dateline and the body of his commentary. This common gaffe among major media outlets is no laughing matter for proud Pinellas County residents and government officials, who are separated from their Tampa counterparts by a rather large body of water known as Tampa Bay.

Don Moyer, CLEARWATER, FLA.

## 'W. brilliantly depicts the astounding, bewildering chronicle of how Bush's presidency came to be.'

Linda Calcagno Melchione, EASTON, MASS.



The decider at rest Josh Brolin channels George W. Bush in Oliver Stone's new film



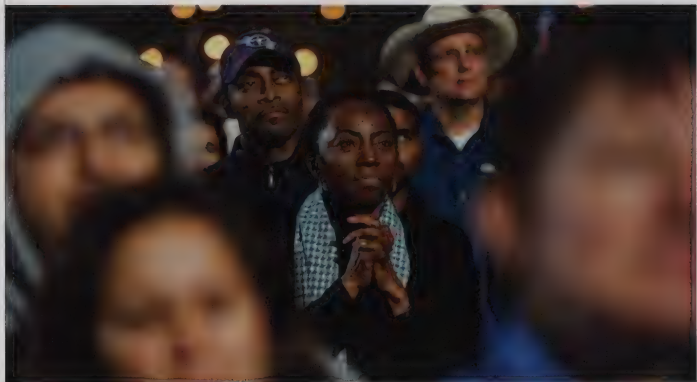
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# Briefing

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## The Moment

11/04/08: Chicago

IN 1963, WHEN BARACK HUSSEIN Obama was a toddler and his mother's marriage was illegal in 19 states, Martin Luther King Jr. gave his most famous speech. But before he got to the part about his dream, he asked himself a rhetorical question: "When will you be satisfied?"

King knew how long he would remain unsatisfied. As long as motels were off limits to blacks; as long as his children read signs saying FOR WHITES ONLY. "We cannot be satisfied," King declared,

"as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote."

On Nov. 4, in brilliant early-morning sunshine, Harry E. Brown made his way with a walnut cane along a Kansas City, Mo., boulevard, carrying the heavy metal folding chair that had helped him through a two-hour wait to cast his ballot. He had a mile and a half still ahead of him. "The only reason I'd walk this far," Brown said, was for

Barack Obama. "It's not because of the color of his skin—it's because of the change he will bring to America." Back when King was dreaming a father's dreams for his children, Brown lived in Mississippi. "I rode in buses when the blacks had to stand in the back. I

**Martin Luther King Jr.'s dream is fulfilled sooner than anyone imagined**

drank at water fountains that said COLOREDS. You couldn't eat at the restaurants. You had to get your meals in a brown paper sack at the back door."

The day after Obama's election, poverty among black

Americans was still twice the national average. In some ways, change has come slowly, if at all. But in another sense, it came sooner than we—and King—imagined. Admit it: not so long ago, you pictured this day against a backdrop of jet-pack travel and colonies on Mars.

Harry Brown walked slowly but with great dignity. Unexpectedly, his wife drove up, having completed her morning mission to deliver wheelchairs to precincts where exhausted voters might need them. Brown loaded his folding chair and climbed into the car. His journey was, in the end, faster than he had expected. —BY DAVID VON DREHLE AND KAREN BALL ■



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# Verbatim

## Campaign '08

'Change has come to America.'

**BARACK OBAMA**, addressing supporters in Chicago after defeating John McCain to become the first African-American President in U.S. history

'If you wanted to run against President Bush, you should have run four years ago.'

**JOHN MCCAIN**, responding to Obama's claims during the final presidential debate that his policies mirrored those of George W. Bush

'I just don't want to see us fall backwards, you know?'

**HILLARY CLINTON**, getting choked up while answering a question about campaign exhaustion in January. She won the New Hampshire primary the next day

'It's Alaska. It's just right over the border.'

**SARAH PALIN**, explaining to CBS anchor Katie Couric why the state's proximity to Russia boosted her foreign policy credentials as John McCain's running mate

'They get bitter. They cling to guns or religion or antipathy to people who aren't like them.'

**BARACK OBAMA**, on rural working-class voters. A blogger recorded the comment during a San Francisco fund-raiser that excluded the press

'The fundamentals of the economy are strong.'

**JOHN MCCAIN**, speaking on Sept. 15, just hours before Lehman Brothers filed for the largest bankruptcy in U.S. history

'This is the campaign period. Anyone can say anything. So we disregard that.'

**MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD**, Iranian President, on his reaction to the U.S. presidential race and which candidate he preferred



## Back & Forth:

### Patriotism

'For the first time in my adult lifetime, I am really proud of my country.'

**MICHELLE OBAMA**, on voter enthusiasm, prompting critics to label her unpatriotic

'I have always been proud of my country.'

**CINDY MCCAIN**, who later denied that she was alluding to her Democratic counterpart



### Race

'Not God bless America. God damn America!'

**THE REV. JEREMIAH WRIGHT**, Barack Obama's longtime pastor, preaching in 2003 about the nation's racist past. Critics later cited footage of the sermon as evidence of Obama's radical beliefs

'I can no more disown him than I can disown the black community.'

**BARACK OBAMA**, defending Wright in a landmark Philadelphia speech on U.S. race relations

### Economy

'We have sort of become a nation of whiners.'

**PHIL GRAMM**, economic adviser to John McCain, describing the country's "mental recession"

'America already has one Dr. Phil.'

**BARACK OBAMA**, saying the U.S. doesn't need psychological relief

### Celebrity

'He's the biggest celebrity in the world. But is he ready to lead?'

**MCCAIN CAMPAIGN** Internet ad likening Barack Obama to tabloid queen Paris Hilton

'That wrinkly, white-haired guy used me in his campaign ad, which I guess means I'm running for President.'

**PARIS HILTON**, mocking McCain in a campaign ad of her own





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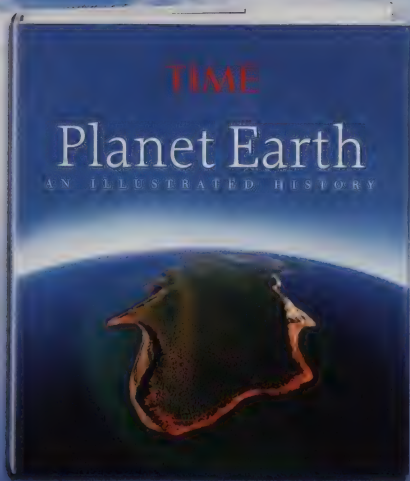
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# Pop Chart



**SARAH PALIN'S**  
\$150,000 clothing tab:  
totally worth it



**SNOWMAN** dominates  
YouTube debate, which  
is more than Mike  
Gravel can say



Not a licensed plumber,  
not named **JOE**, but the  
the is pretty accurate

**HUCK AND CHUCK** lose  
nomination, win right  
to make *Delta Force VI*



**THE PALINS:** America's  
new favorite family



The election's over.  
Somebody wake up  
**FRED THOMPSON**

**JESSE JACKSON** learns  
what the little red light  
on top of the camera  
means

## Campaign '08

### SHOCKING

Terrorist fist jab?



Accused of petulant,  
crazy outbursts, **BILL  
CLINTON** responds with  
petulance, craziness



**BOB BARR** = new **NADER?**



**JOHN MCCAIN'S** eight  
houses: a real drag in  
this economy



*National Enquirer*  
breaks **JOHN EDWARDS'**  
creepitacular infidelity

### PREDICTABLE



**BARACK OBAMA** bowls  
a 37, and no one thinks  
to use *that* in robocalls?



**OBAMA GIRL**

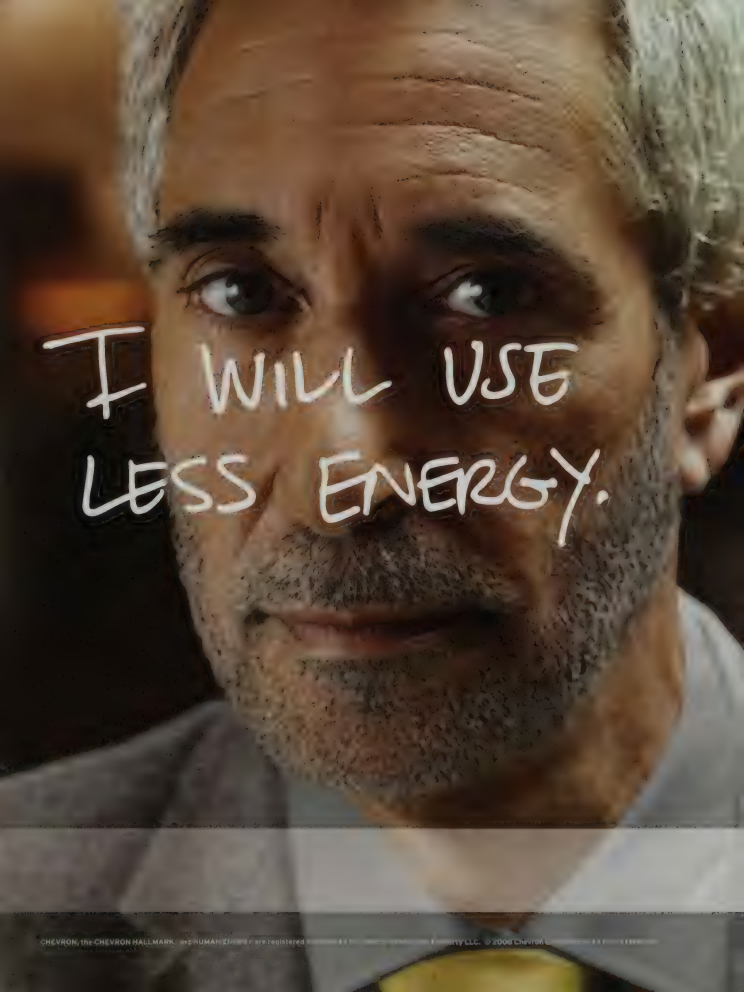


Winky-winky



**ROCK 'N' ROLL** to  
McCain: Please stop  
using our songs

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# Milestones



## Studs Terkel

FOR MORE THAN A HALF-century, Studs Terkel, who died on Oct. 31 at 96, had an ongoing conversation with America. This elfin-looking man, usually dressed in a red-plaid shirt, ventured out into the unfamiliar with tape recorder in hand and spoke with people whom he liked to call the etceteras of the world. In his presence, they mattered. He knew they had something to say—about race, about class,

about work, about hope, about community. About America.

If you want to try to understand the perplexing character of this nation, turn to *Working or Race*, or any of Terkel's numerous other works. In each of them, the uncelebrated alongside the celebrated ponder what holds us together and what pushes us apart.

Terkel, who was

often praised as the consummate listener, didn't just arrive at someone's front door and say, "Tell me about yourself." He carried on a conversation. Terkel didn't let people off the hook. In *Division Street*, a 19-year-old man who had left the hills of Kentucky for Chicago talks about his fear of living too close to blacks. "It doesn't bother me," he says, "as long as they stay on their side of the street." To which Terkel asks, "Suppose they're on the same side of the street? You can almost hear the young man consider this for a moment before laughing at himself. 'I imagine we might be able to be pious and get along pretty good,'" he replies. That was Terkel. His effervescence brought out the best in virtually everyone he encountered. His books

brought out the best in America.

—BY ALEX KOTLOWITZ



Kotlowitz is the author of the award-winning best seller *There Are No Children Here*

before settling in Hawaii. Her daughter inherited that restlessness, marrying an African, then an Indonesian and building a life in Jakarta. And then there was the grandson who captured a nation's imagination.

But standing at the center of these questing characters was Dunham, a Maypole in a business suit and sensible shoes. When her husband went to war, Dunham went to work on a bomber assembly line. When her daughter had a baby and dropped out of college at 18, Dunham got a job at a bank, becoming the family's primary breadwinner. When Obama's mother returned to Indonesia, a teenage Obama wanted to

stay in Hawaii; Dunham made space for him in her small Honolulu apartment. She was "the one who taught me about hard work," Obama said, accepting his party's nomination in August. "She poured everything she had into me."

Throughout her grandson's campaign, Dunham declined to talk to reporters. She played bridge and followed the race closely on TV. "So long as you kids do well, Bar," she would tell her grandson, "that's all that really matters." Dunham's death on the eve of the election meant she would never see how well her grandson did. It's a tragedy she probably would have accepted with grace. —BY AMANDA RIPLEY

**DIED** With her 1980 work, *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, Marilyn Ferguson helped pull together various emerging countercultural strains—including



alternative birthing centers and the exploration of altered states of consciousness—into what soon after became known as the New Age movement. In her book, she remarked, "We are entering a millennium of love and light—in the words of the popular song 'The Age of Aquarius,' the time of 'the mind's true liberation.'" Before the book's release, Ferguson published a monthly newsletter titled *Brain/Mind Bulletin*, reporting on new discoveries in psychology and neuroscience. She was 70.

■ Producer of 13 Best Picture Oscar winners, including *Platoon* and *The Last Emperor*, John Daly helped boost the careers of directors such as Oliver Stone



and Robert Altman, as well as actors Denzel Washington, Keanu Reeves and Julia Roberts. Daly, who began his career in his hometown of London, created Hemdale, an independent film company, with *Blow-Up* star David Hemmings. Together they produced more than 100 films that earned upwards of \$1.5 billion. Daly was 71.

■ Meg Ryan has just faked a loud orgasm at a New York City deli. A waitress turns to an older woman, who remarks, "I'll have what she's having." Thus *Estelle Reiner*,



mother of *When Harry Met Sally* director Rob Reiner and wife of *The Dick Van Dyke Show* creator Carl, entered film history with one of cinema's most famous lines. Reiner, who spent her early life as a visual artist, became a cabaret singer at 60 and took lessons with legendary acting coach Lee Strasberg. She was 94.



## Madelyn Dunham

IN SOME FAMILIES, THE PERSON who makes everything possible is the one who stands still. Barack Obama's grandmother Madelyn Dunham, who died on Nov. 3 at 86, was married to a man fueled by bluster and possibility, who moved the family five times

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**SYMBICORT**

# Profiles in Asthma Control

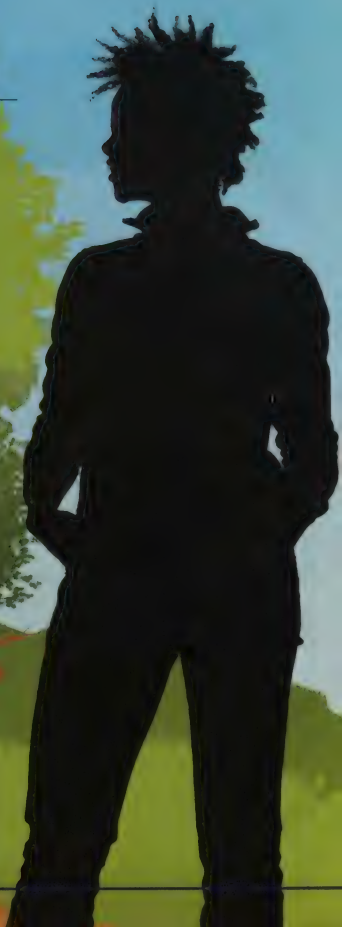
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## Trail Blazer

### Noticing a Difference

"When my asthma got bad, I was so short of breath, it was difficult for me to even take my walks. Now I know SYMBICORT is working to help control my asthma. So wherever these legs take me, I'm breathing so much better. I know I can stay one step ahead."

— Connie



### Back in your doctor's office again?

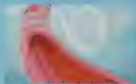
If your asthma symptoms keep coming back, you should know what Connie knows. Asthma doesn't go away. You still have inflammation in your airways, making them more sensitive and likely to constrict. So even when you're symptom free, you're not asthma free.\*

### Connie has noticed a difference in her breathing with SYMBICORT.

SYMBICORT is for people like Connie, who are 12 years and older, whose doctor has decided are not well controlled on another asthma-controller medicine or who need two asthma-controller medicines.



*Inflammation is always in your airways, even if you can't feel it.*



*SYMBICORT reduces inflammation and works all day and night.*

### Connie takes SYMBICORT twice every day.

SYMBICORT combines two medicines in one product to help control both inflammation and constriction all day and night. And it starts to open her airways within 15 minutes.\* She knows that SYMBICORT is not a rescue inhaler and does not replace one for sudden symptoms.

SYMBICORT is helping Connie control her asthma, so she's able to breathe better.

So she's confident she's on the right path

### Ask your doctor if SYMBICORT is right for you.

If you cannot afford your prescription medication, AstraZeneca may be able to help.

\*Individual results may vary.

## IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

### What is SYMBICORT?

Prescription SYMBICORT is a controller medicine for the long-term maintenance treatment of asthma. SYMBICORT is for people 12 years and older whose doctor has decided are not well controlled on another asthma-controller medicine or who need two asthma-controller medicines. SYMBICORT is not for the treatment of sudden asthma symptoms.

### What is the most important safety information I should know about SYMBICORT?

SYMBICORT contains formoterol, a long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist (LABA). Medicines containing LABAs may increase the chance of asthma-related death.

So, SYMBICORT should be used only if your health care professional decides another asthma-controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or you need two controller medicines.

While taking SYMBICORT, never use another medicine containing a LABA.

### What other important safety information should I know about SYMBICORT?

SYMBICORT won't replace rescue inhalers for sudden asthma symptoms. Do not use SYMBICORT more than twice a day.

If you are taking SYMBICORT, see your health care professional if your asthma does not improve or gets worse. Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or change in heart rhythm. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure.

If you are switching to SYMBICORT from an oral corticosteroid, follow your doctor's instructions to avoid health risks when you stop using oral corticosteroids.

Avoid exposure to infections such as chicken pox or measles. Tell your health care professional immediately if you are exposed.

In clinical studies, common side effects included nose and throat irritation, headache, upper respiratory tract infection, sore throat, sinusitis, and stomach discomfort.

Please see Important Product Information on adjacent page and discuss with your doctor.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

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James

# Poniewozik

## Whiteboards Out, Holograms In. Their old authority gone, election-night anchors make up for gravitas with gadgets

ON ELECTION NIGHT, THE NETWORKS spent a valiant couple of hours attempting to avoid reporting the news. That news, after they had called Ohio for Barack Obama around 9:20 p.m. E.T., cutting off any path to victory for John McCain, was that the election was over and Obama was the next President of the United States. But until 11:00:01 p.m. E.T., the press discussed how Obama might govern if he won, without directly saying that, oh, right—he had.

There was a practical and ethical reason for journalists' shyness. The West Coast had not yet finished voting, and the TV networks have followed the policy of not calling the election before the polls close since 1980, when Reagan's victory was announced just after 8 p.m. E.T. and voters walked away from polling places out west.

Recent elections had obliged by actually being close. But this time, the pundits had to speak in a subtle code, saying what they knew without saying what they knew. "Everybody check my math," Keith Olbermann asked the MSNBC panel, defying them to say which state could get McCain to 270 electoral votes. Liberal bastion California? Obama's home state, Hawaii? "You have a jeweler's eye," Chris Matthews told him slyly.

But besides the voters of L.A., there was another, more sentimental reason to hang on. The election was the greatest show TV has seen in years; it brought big ratings and restored, for a while, big political news bureaus' sense of importance. And now it was going to come to

**Anderson Cooper concluded one interview with an Obama supporter by saying 'Appreciate you being with us tonight by hologram.'**

an end. How could the networks possibly say goodbye? How could they make the moment last a little longer?

**One answer: special effects! Election night** captured in miniature the brilliance and ridiculousness of election 2008 in the media. NBC painted an electoral map on New York City's Rockefeller Center skating rink and stood its hosts in front of enough



virtual Greek columns to stage a hundred Obama rallies; 3-D graphics sprouted out of studio floors and hung in the air; and CNN unveiled the most amazing and goofy innovation, 3-D projections of studio guests speaking to the network's anchors like Princess Leia asking Obi Wan for help in *Star Wars*. Anderson Cooper ended an interview with singer and Obama supporter Will.i.am. "Appreciate you being with us tonight by hologram." It was as if CNN had been bought by Lucasfilm.

The mind reels at how news organizations might employ this technology in the future. Will we see holograms of reporters standing outside in hurricanes?

On the other hand, election night also showcased how TV has successfully used technology to explain complicated subjects. Most networks employed some version of the "magic wall," a video

screen that displayed election returns granularly, down to the county level. Whooshing and zooming across and into the map, hosts were able to bore into America, identifying the microgroups that would decide the election and the demographic shifts in a contest that defied the old boundaries.

Still, with one network set after another looking like the sales floor of a Circuit City, it seemed as though the networks were trying to buy gravitas with high-tech gadgets. The screens dripped data—a list of states running down the side, graphics spanning the bottom, a "virtual Senate" materializing on CNN.

Even the pundits metastasized: the networks had banks upon banks of them, lined up like operators at a telethon. Look at all this information! the screens screamed. Look at all this analysis! Never mind that we're sitting on the news!

**There was, in all this bluster and techno-wizardry, a feeling of over-compensation.** Call it the Russert Deficit. Meet the Press's Tim Russert, who died just before the general election got under way, ruled nights like this, breaking down the Electoral College John Henry-style, not with a giant touchscreen, but with a dry-erase marker and a whiteboard. At the end of the Democratic primary season, Russert did what nobody had the force to do on election night: call the game over when it plainly was.

At one point, NBC political director Chuck Todd scribbled on a "virtual white board" in a kind of tribute, wondering what Russert would have said about the night's results. Todd and a few others still use math and reporting to crack the electoral code as Russert did. But they don't have Russert's authority.

That's probably less a judgment on TV's personalities than a sign of its times. A fragmented media may simply be past the era of Russerts and Cronkites. And that's not necessarily a bad thing. As the glitter of the long planned electionpalooza settled to earth, there remained a disastrous economy, energy and climate crises and far-flung wars. And understanding them will take more than big stars and Jedi effects. ■



Joe

# Klein

## Passing the Torch. Obama's victory heralds a new generation of leaders—and an America that is still taking shape

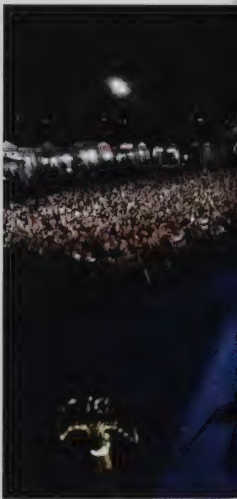
ELEVEN MONTHS AGO, I ATTENDED A John Edwards speech in the little town of Algona, Iowa. It was a Sunday afternoon, and Edwards had drawn a large crowd of mostly uncommitted voters to a local factory that made wind-turbine components. Two things soon became apparent as I interviewed a dozen or so Algonans before the speech. The first was that there were a fair number of Republicans present, a phenomenon I was beginning to notice all over Iowa. They were not yet committed to voting Democratic, but they mentioned their disappointment in George W. Bush, their frustration with the war in Iraq and their dismay at the right-wing religious drift of the state Republican Party. The last time I'd seen so many crossovers was in 1980, when Democrats—angry at Jimmy Carter and their party's leftward drift—made their presence felt at Republican meetings, heralding the onset of the Reagan era.

The other phenomenon was a person. I was talking to a local businessman named Bill Farnham who wasn't yet sure whom he was voting for, "but I'm really impressed with the organizer Obama sent out here. His name is Nate Hundt, and he's really become part of the community." As he spoke, several other Algonans gathered around and began recounting tales of the young organizer who had come straight to Algona after graduating from Yale six months earlier. Hundt had opened a campaign headquarters in the H&R Block office downtown, joined a local environmental group, showed up for the high school football games. He was a constant

presence at civic events. Eventually, he became so much a part of the community that the town leaders asked him to stay on after the caucuses and run for city council. But Hundt had other work to do. The Obama campaign sent him to Colorado, Ohio and North Carolina during the long primary season, then back to Colorado Springs for the general election. "I'm still in touch with my friends from Algona," Hundt said. "In fact, a few of them have come out here to help canvass. But I'm not unique. There are a lot of us who have had similar experiences."

Indeed, there are—an army of them, untold thousands of young organizers operating out of more than 700 offices nationwide. And they have delivered a message to Rudy Giuliani, who sneered during the Republican National Convention that he didn't even know "what a community organizer is." This is who they are: they are the people who won this election. They were the heart and soul and backbone of Barack Obama's victory. They are destined to emerge as the next significant generation of American political operatives—similar to the antiwar and antisegregation baby boomers who dominated the Democratic Party after cutting their teeth on the Bobby Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy campaigns of 1968, similar to the pro-life, antitax Reaganists who dominated the Republican Party and American politics from the election of 1980... until now. They are a preview of the style and substance of the Obama Administration.

Obama's decision to expend so much effort on a field organization was quietly revolutionary and a perfect fit for the larger political philosophy that he described when I spoke with him a few weeks ago. Obama insisted that while creating a new energy economy was his No. 1 priority, "we can't divorce the energy issue from what I believe has to be the dominant political theme underlying everything—the economy, health care,



you name it. And that is restoring a sense that we're growing the economy from the bottom up and not the top down. That's the overarching philosophical change that we've got to have."

That was the substantive heart of his campaign and of this election. It was a stark difference between the candidates. Unlike many elections I've covered where the stakes were small and the differences between the candidates were minor, this was a big election, with big differences between the candidates. It was a referendum on the Reagan era. Try as he might to dissociate himself from the Bush Administration, John McCain remained a classic Reaganite. He believed in the unilateral exercise of American power overseas, with an emphasis on

**Those who say Obama won because of the financial crisis are telling only half the story. He won because of how he reacted to the crisis**

**First family** After receiving McCain's concession and addressing the nation, Obama, with wife Michelle and daughters Malia and Sasha, greets 240,000 in Chicago's Grant Park



military might rather than diplomacy. He believed in trickle-down, supply-side, deregulatory economics: his tax plan benefited corporations and the wealthy in the hope that with fewer shackles, they would create more jobs. Obama was quite the opposite. Unlike Bill Clinton, whose purpose was to humanize Reaganism but not really challenge it, Obama offered a full-throated rebuttal to Clinton's notion that "the era of Big Government is over." He was a liberal, as charged. But the public was ready, after a 30-year conservative pendulum swing, for activist government.

Although McCain gave a gracious concession speech, the old fighter pilot understood that his argument was a loser—perhaps he even understood

that the Reagan revolution had run its course—and so his strategy was to make a big election small. He attacked Obama relentlessly, often foolishly, sometimes scurrilously. The public didn't buy it. This was never more apparent than during the three presidential debates, which probably clinched the election for Obama. McCain was starting from a disadvantage. He had developed a bad case of Washingtonitis; he spoke Senatense, a language of process and tactics that sometimes approached incoherence. In 2000, McCain spoke with a bracing clarity: "The reason why we don't have a patients' bill of rights," he would say, "is because the Republican Party is in the pocket of the insurance industry and the Democrats are in the pocket of

the trial lawyers." In the 2008 debates, he skittered from attack to attack, lacking the vision and patience to explain what he would actually do as President. Obama's best moments—according to the instant reaction of focus-group viewers—came when he calmly set forth what he would do about the economy, health care, education. Those who say Obama won because of the financial crisis are telling only half the story. He won because he reacted to the crisis in a measured, mature way. He won because in the second debate, he explained to a gentleman named Oliver Clark, in terms that anyone could understand, the financial collapse and the need for a federal bailout.

**But this election was about much more than issues.** It was the ratification of an essential change in the nature of the country. I've seen two others in my lifetime. The election of John Kennedy ratified the new America that had emerged from war and depression—a place where more people owned homes and went to college, a place where young people had the affluence to be idealistic or to rebel, a place that was safe enough to get a little crazy, a sexier country. Ronald Reagan's election was a rebellion against that—an announcement that toughness had replaced idealism overseas, that individual economic freedom had replaced common economic purpose at home. It was an act of nostalgia, harking back to the "real" America—white, homogeneous, small town—that the McCain campaign unsuccessfully tried to appeal to.

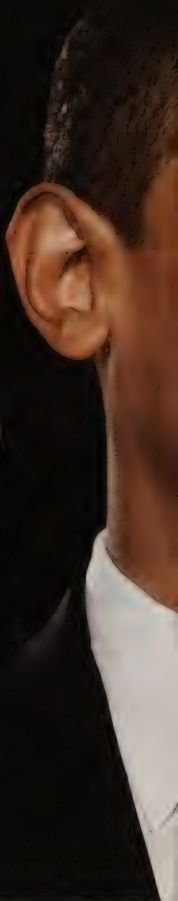
Obama's victory creates the prospect of a new "real" America. We can't possibly know its contours yet, although I suspect the headline is that it is no longer homogeneous. It is no longer a "white" country, even though whites remain the majority. It is a place where the primacy of racial identity—and this includes the old, Jesse Jackson version of black racial identity—has been replaced by the celebration of pluralism, of cross-racial synergy. After eight years of misgovernance, it has lost some of its global swagger... but also some of its arrogance. It may no longer be as dominant, economically or diplomatically, as it once was. But it is younger, more optimistic, less cynical. It is a country that retains its ability to startle the world—and in a good way, with our freedom. It is a place, finally, where the content of our President's character is more important than the color of his skin. ■

★ ELECTION 2008

# 'This Is Our Time'

**Barack Obama**

President-elect of the United States





Photograph for TIME by Brooks Kraft—Corbis



**Body politic** Obama supporters celebrate at Chicago's Grant Park. Obama is the first Democrat since 1964 to win more than 51% of the popular vote



Photograph for TIME by Brooks Kraft—Corbis



**Center stage** The future President with his wife Michelle moments before stepping out to deliver his election-night acceptance speech in Chicago



Photograph for TIME by Callie Shell—Aurora

## By Nancy Gibbs

SOME PRINCES ARE BORN IN PALACES. SOME ARE BORN in manglers. But a few are born in the imagination, out of scraps of history and hope. Barack Obama never talks about how people see him: *I'm not the one making history*, he said every chance he got. *You are.*

Yet as he looked out Tuesday night through the bulletproof glass, in a park named for a Civil War general, he had to see the truth on people's faces. We are the ones we've been waiting for, he liked to say, but people were waiting for him, waiting for someone to finish what a King began.

"If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible," declared the President-elect, "who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer."

Barack Hussein Obama did not win because of the color of his skin. Nor did he win in spite of it. He won because at a very dangerous moment in the life of a still young country, more people

than have ever spoken before came together to try to save it. And that was a victory all its own.

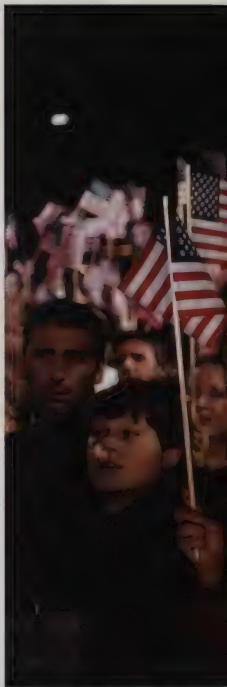
Remember this day, parents told their children as they took them out of school to go see an African-American candidate make history. An election in one of the world's oldest democracies looked like the kind they hold in brand-new ones, when citizens finally come out and dance, a purple-thumb day, a velvet revolution. A hundred thousand people came out in red states to hear Obama; a hundred fifty thousand turned out in purple ones, even after all this time, when they should have been sick to death of Hope and Change. In Michigan, people put an electric fence around their yard sign to protect it. NASA astronauts on board the International Space Station sent a video message encouraging people to vote; they did, from 200 miles up. A judge in Ohio ruled that homeless people could use a park bench as their address in order to register. A couple flew home from India just to cast their ballots. Obama's Ohio volunteers knocked on a million doors on Monday alone. That

night, a Florida official locked himself in the Seminole County election headquarters and slept overnight with the ballots to make sure nothing went wrong with the vote. Early-voting lines in Atlanta were 10 hours long, and still people waited, as though their vote was their most precious and personal possession at a moment when everything else seemed to be losing its value. You heard the same phrases everywhere. *First time ever. In my lifetime. Whatever it takes.*

When it was over, more than 120 million pulled a lever or mailed a ballot, and the system could barely accommodate the demands of Extreme Democracy. Obama won more votes than anyone else in U.S. history, the biggest Democratic victory since Lyndon Johnson crushed another Arizona Senator 44 years ago. Obama won men, which no Democrat had managed since Bill Clinton. He won 54% of Catholics, 66% of Latinos, 68% of new voters—a multicultural, multigenerational movement that shatters the old political ice pack. He let loose a deep blue wave that washed well past the coasts and the col-

lege towns, into the South through Virginia and Florida, the Mountain West with Colorado and New Mexico, into the Ohio Valley and the Midwestern battlegrounds: you could almost walk from Maine to Minnesota without getting your feet wet in a red state. After months of mapmaking all the roads to 270, Obama tore right past with ease.

The victory poured down the ballot, bringing along a larger Democratic majority in both houses, though not as broad as some had predicted: Democrats wid-





**A glimpse of history** Crowds in Grant Park listen to Obama's victory speech. "I will listen to you, especially when we disagree," he pledged

ened their margins in the House and the Senate. The Republican caucus is smaller, more male and whiter at a time when the electorate is heading the other way. But the Democrats did not come close to their dream of a 60-seat, filibuster-proof majority in the Senate, which suggests that people's hunger for change is tempered by their faith in restraint.

When the race was called, there was a rush of noise, of horns honking and kids shouting and strangers hugging in the streets. People danced in Harlem and wept

at Ebenezer Baptist Church and lit candles at Dr. King's grave. More than a thousand people shouted "Yes we can!" outside the White House, where a century ago it was considered scandalous for a President to invite a black hero to lunch. The Secret Service said it had never seen anything like it. President Bush called the victory "awesome" when he phoned Obama to congratulate him: "You are about to go on one of the great journeys of life."

John McCain, freedom fighter, has always seen the nobility even—maybe

especially—in a losing battle, which takes the most courage to fight. When he called Obama to concede the race, the younger man honored the elder statesman. "I need your help," Obama said, and McCain offered it without reservation. "Whatever our differences, we are fellow Americans," McCain told the crowd in a gracious speech beneath the Arizona mountains. "I pledge to him tonight to do all in my power to help him lead us through the many challenges we face."

*Remember this day. We now get to imag-*

ine, at least for a while, that the election of Obama has not just turned a page in our politics but also tossed out the whole book so we can start over. Whether by design or by default, the past now loses power: for the moment, it feels as if we've left behind the baby-boomer battles of the past 40 years; the culture wars that took us prisoner and cut us off from what we have in common; the tribal warfare between rich and poor, North and South, black and white; and the illusion, if anyone still harbored it after the past eight years, that what happens in Washington does not affect what happens everywhere else.

### How He Rewrote the Book

"SHE HAS GONE HOME," OBAMA TOLD the quiet crowd in Charlotte, N.C., on Monday night, recalling the grandmother who had raised him and shaped him and died on the eve of his victory. "She was one of those quiet heroes that we have all across America," he said, and tears we had never seen before streaked his face. "They're not famous. Their names are not in the newspapers, but each and every day, they work hard." One day later, Madelyn Dunham's grandson would be the most famous man in the world.

At a moment of obvious peril, America decided to place its fate in the hands of a man who had been born to an idealistic white teenage mother and the charismatic African grad student who abandoned them—a man who grew up without money, talked his way into good schools, worked his way up through the pitiless world of Chicago politics to the U.S. Senate and now the White House in a stunningly short period. That achievement, compared with those of the Bushes or the Kennedys or the Roosevelts or the Adamases or any of the other American princes who were born into power or bred to it, represents such a radical departure from the norm that it finally brings meaning to the promise taught from kindergarten: "Anyone can grow up to be President."

A nation doesn't much need a big President in small times; it needs one when the future is spitting out monsters. We've heard so much about Obama's brand-new voters that we easily forget the others he found, the ones who hadn't voted since Vietnam or who had never dreamed they'd vote for a black man or a liberal or a Democrat, much less all three. But many Americans are living through the worst decade of their lives, and they have anger-management issues. They saw a war mismanaged, a city swallowed, now an economy held together with foreign loans and thumbtacks. It took a perfect storm of



Gracious end McCain, with his wife Cindy and Governor Sarah Palin, eloquently concedes the loss at the Biltmore Hotel in Phoenix

bad news to create this moment, but even the big men rarely win in a walk. Ronald Reagan didn't. John Kennedy didn't. Those with the clearest vision often have to fight the hardest for others to see things as they do.

Obama belonged to a party that was bent on retribution; he preached reconciliation, and when voters were asked a year ago who had the best chance of winning, Hillary Clinton crushed him, 71% to 26%. He had to build a new church and reach out to the seekers who had lost faith in government or never had any in the first place. He ran not so much on any creed as on the belief that everything was broken, that the very system that produces candidates and frames issues and decides who loses and who wins in public life does little more than make a loser out of the American people. We need to start over, he argued, speak gently, listen carefully, find solutions, keep our word. It was

precisely because he was an outsider with a thin résumé and few cronies or scars or grudges that he could sell himself as the solution.

On the cold January night in Iowa that he calls the highlight of the whole campaign, he offered a glimpse of the possible. Caucus-night victory speeches are usually sweaty affairs in crowded rooms full of debts to pay off. But Obama got up in his tightened tie and with total focus, in front of a teleprompter so he'd be sure to get it exactly right, delivered what even skeptics called one of the great political sermons of our time. "They said this day would never come," he declared. "They said this country was too divided, too disillusioned to ever come together around a common purpose. But on this January night—at this defining moment in history—you have done what the cynics said we couldn't do." He won women without the help of women's groups,



## Two Men, Two Visions

GIVEN A PRESIDENT WHO WAS RADIOACTIVE and an economy weak in the knees, you could say the outcome should never have been in doubt. Seventy percent more people voted in the Democratic primaries as in the Republican; 9 out of 10 people say the country is on the wrong track. In that light, McCain was his party's sacrificial lamb, a certified American hero granted one more chance to serve, with enough rebel credits on his résumé to stand a chance of winning over disgruntled voters if Obama somehow imploded.

While it may not have been much of a race in the end, it certainly was a choice: not just black and white or red and blue or young and old, though there was a full generation between them. Over time, it's become clear that these men view change very differently. McCain sees change as an ordeal, a test of his toughness; Obama sees it as an opportunity, a test of his versatility. McCain sees change as reforming the system; Obama talks about rebuilding it from the ground up. McCain does not e-mail. He became famous by riding a bus. And he brandished at every opportunity the values that never change with circumstances: duty, honor, country first.

Yet Obama, derided as so ethereal compared with the battle-tested McCain, was the clear-eyed realist in the room; he was a child of change—changed countries and cultures and careers, even his very name: Barry became Barack. You can't stop change from coming, he argued; you can only use it in and work out the terms. If you're smart and a little lucky, you can make it your friend.

As if that choice hadn't been clear enough, McCain drew the lines a little brighter. The Veech choice always promised to be complicated for a solo pilot who resisted the idea of a partner at every turn, but now the Constitution required him to pick a wingman. He wasn't the type to look for someone to help him govern. But what about someone to help him win?

In case anyone imagined that we'd make it through an entire general election without an all-out culture war, Sarah Palin's arrival took care of it. She called herself a fresh face who couldn't wait to take on the good ole boys. But far from framing the future, Palin played deep chords from the past—the mother of five from a frontier town who invoked the values of a simpler, safer America than the globally competitive, fiscally challenged, multicultural marketplace of ideas where Obama lived. She seemed to delight in the contrast: she was arguing that "we don't really know Barack Obama" before she had even taken off her coat. She warned urgently

that he wasn't qualified to be President even as leaders in her own party snorted at her lack of readiness; she rejoiced in visiting the "real America," the "pro-America areas of this great nation." Instead, it was an invitation for Obama to show how far the country had come. "There are no real or fake parts of this country," Obama fired back. "We are one nation, all of us proud, all of us patriots..."

Still, as of mid-September, McCain, with Palin at his side, had closed the gender gap, ignited his base, delighted Rush Limbaugh and seemed to be having fun for the first time in ages. He hammered the point that he was the only one who had been tested in a crisis. It was working great—until he was tested in a crisis. The assumption all year was that if the Furies delivered turmoil to the doorstep of this election, the country would retreat to the safe choice and not risk a rookie. It was Obama's triumph that the financial crisis that might have buried him actually raised him up, let voters judge his judgment in real time, the 3 a.m. phone call that came night after night. It gave him, over the course of three weeks and three debates, a stage for statesmanship that decades of Senate debate could never have offered.

On the day Lehman Brothers evaporated, McCain was running 2 points ahead. In September, when the *Wall Street Journal* asked people who was better on taxes, McCain beat Obama, 41% to 37%. Over the next month, there was an 18-point swing, until Obama prevailed on taxes, 48% to 34%. The Obama campaign never missed a chance to replay McCain's quotes about the fundamentals of the economy being strong or that he was "fundamentally a deregulator" at a time when regulation was fundamentally overdue. The moment McCain tried to seize the moment, suspend the campaign and ride back to Washington to rescue the global financial system only to be shut down by his own party, he handed Obama a weapon almost as powerful as the crisis itself. Times were suddenly scary—and McCain was "erratic," "impulsive," reckless. He fell into a trap he couldn't get out of for weeks: any attempt to do something dramatic and different just dug the hole deeper. Every time McCain took a swing, as his cheering section demanded he do, those undecided-voter dial meters plunged. Six in 10 voters said McCain was spending more time attacking Obama than explaining his own positions, at a moment of crisis when people care what those positions were.

Over the course of three debates right in the heat of the crisis, voters got to take the measure of the men directly—no

blacks without the help of race pols, and that golden snitch of American politics, the youth vote, whose presence not only gave his campaign a feeling of hope and energy but made old people feel younger too. That was the first test of what was really on voters' minds: even in the face of two wars and a looming recession, only 1 in 5 cited experience as the highest priority. More than a third of them cared most about who could bring about change.

It was just one of many ironies that his historic ascent required blocking Clinton's. Experience can be a virtue, but it also means familiarity and wounds and scars, and it was hard to look at her on-stage—her husband behind her, his gears visibly spinning—and see her as the future. Many who saw Clinton as the victim of virulent sexism could still be eager to move on to someone who did not fight in the last war.



**Their moment** Voters queue up early outside the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union Hall in Phoenix

stadium crowds, no stunts, no speechwriters to save them. They were being told that Obama was a dangerous radical who hung out with terrorists. Simply by seeming sober and sensible, he both reassured voters and diminished McCain, whose attacks suddenly seemed disingenuous. A *New York Times* survey found that people who changed their views on Obama were twice as likely to say they had grown more favorable, not less; those who now saw McCain differently were three times as likely to say their view had worsened than had improved. And that was after the markets had shed a couple of trillion dollars. By mid-October, only 1 in 3 voters thought McCain would bring the country a real change in direction. He never got close again.

Eventually Obama's opponents moved past accusing him of celebrity and socialism to charging his family with witchcraft and warning that his election would bring on the End of Days, when Christianity would be criminalized and "God could take his hand off protection off of

America," as Gary Bauer, who once ran for President himself, put it. Obama, meanwhile, used his immense financial advantage to run a half-hour prime-time ad that told his story, made his case—and never once mentioned McCain.

By the end, some lessons were already clear. Obama's sheer brute financial force, outspending McCain nearly 2 to 1, guarantees that the way we pay for our politics will never be the same—and money and power tend to flow as one. A new generation of voters is about to show us whether they dropped in to visit or intend to stay. The Democrats in Congress were handed greater power despite abiding unpopularity; we'll now see whether they understand that it's a loan, not a reward. And the repudiation of President Bush and his allies ensures that the conservative movement will have to sit in a circle, hold hands, light some incense and figure out what its members really believe in when it comes to putting their principles into practice. The legacy of a President who vastly expanded the national debt, the size of government

and its reach into what was once called private enterprise is likely to haunt his party for a generation to come.

### The Road Ahead

MODERN HISTORY IS A CAUTIONARY TALE of new Presidents who overreach and emboldened lawmakers careless with power. In her unsuccessful fight to hold her North Carolina Senate seat, Elizabeth Dole ran an ad predicting that "these liberals want complete control of government, in a time of crisis. All branches of government. No checks and balances. No debate. No independence." If Democrats like her opponent win, she warned, "they get a blank check." The rumbling started before the votes even came in: there was House Financial Services Committee chairman Barney Frank talking about cutting military spending 25% and taxing "a lot of very rich people out there." Amnesty International set a deadline for closing Gitmo; the ACLU wants a complete review of watch lists within 100 days.

Whose side will Obama be on? The old Ted Kennedy liberals he re-inspired,



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**Yes they can** *The President-elect shares an embrace with the future First Lady. The couple have promised their children a White House puppy*

the Blue Dog Democrats he courted, the new arrivals from purple and even red districts whose shelf life depends on a centrist agenda? He has talked about the need to fix entitlements, but try to pin him down on the Audacity of How, and he vanished in a foam of contingency. He has promised to end the war in Iraq responsibly, but the tension between end and responsibility tightens now. He voted for the \$700 billion Wall Street bailout, but there are bound to be far more claims on that pot than there is money available in it, and the three months between now and Inauguration Day are not likely to be kind to the new kid. Obama has been cautious at every turn not to commit himself to too many details. But he has made a lot of promises of his own. Clinton, for one, has no illusions about what lies ahead. "I remember very well, right after Bill was elected, we found out that the budget deficit was twice as big as had been advertised," she told *TIME*'s Karen Tumulty. "I think that we're going to find a lot of snakes under the rocks when we

start picking them up, looking at this Administration." Obama has had teams of people already working closely with the Treasury Department and the Pentagon in the event of a victory. They have submitted countless names to the FBI to be sure that they are packing security clearances as soon as possible. McCain mocked the presumption of Obama's "measuring the drapes," but Obama's preparations for a transition reflected the fact that the rest of the world isn't going to wait until Jan. 20 to find out what he thinks. At a time like this, there's probably no such thing as being overprepared.

His vow to bring people together will mean nothing if he just does what's already easy. He has to find real Republicans to put in real Cabinet positions, not just Transportation. He needs to use his power in ways that make both parties equally unhappy, to dust off the weighty words we need to hear, not just the uplifting ones—like austerity, sacrifice, duty to the children we keep borrowing from. The national debt passed \$10 trillion in

September; in the next month, we added \$500 billion to it—the fastest, deepest plunge into red ink in more than 50 years. Will Obama end the double standard between how Washington works and how everywhere else does, the loopholes it defends, the common sense it defies?

"This victory alone is not the change we seek," he challenged the nation on Tuesday night. "It is only the chance for us to make that change. And that cannot happen if we go back to the way things were. It cannot happen without you."

We get the leaders we deserve. And if we lift them up and then cut them off, refuse to follow unless they are taking us to Disneyland, then no President, however eloquent, however historic his mandate or piercing his sense of what needs to be done, can take us where we refuse to go. This did not all end on Election Day, Obama said again and again as he talked about the possibility of ordinary people doing extraordinary things. And so, we are merely at the end of the beginning. —WITH REPORTING

BY LAURA FITZPATRICK/NEW YORK



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# How Obama Won

Riding a wave of new voters and responding to the economic concerns of older ones, he redraws the Democratic route to the White House

## 52%

**Obama (D)**

62,527,406 votes

## 46%

**McCain (R)**

55,450,968 votes

Others receiving votes:

**Ralph Nader (I)** 642,154 votes

**Bob Barr (L)** 480,815 votes

**Chuck Baldwin (I)** 172,056 votes

### Behind the numbers

11% were voting for the first time



68% of first-timers voted for Obama

Economy  
63%

The economy was the issue most important to voters

Iraq  
10%

Terrorism  
9%

Health Care  
9%

Energy  
7%

And 53% of voters worried about the economy voted for Obama

Source: AP summary of national exit-poll data

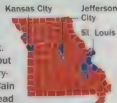
### Montana

McCain found himself in a surprisingly tough fight for Montana, but he kept the state in the red column, winning by about 16,000 votes



### Missouri

Obama bracketed the state with wins in the population centers of St. Louis and Kansas City, but McCain won nearly everywhere else. Result: McCain clings to a 5,800-vote lead



**Obama**  
26 states and D.C.:  
Indiana,  
North Carolina  
leaning  
Obama

**McCain**  
21 states;  
Missouri leaning  
McCain

AP election results as of 10 a.m. E.T., Nov. 5



### How TIME's battleground counties voted

#### ARAPAHOE CO., COLO.

The Republican winning streak crashes to an end in this Denver suburb

Margin of victory (percentage points)



#### OAKLAND CO., MICH.

Jobs and the economy were prime concerns among voters, helping Obama reverse Democratic fortunes



#### HAMILTON CO., OHIO

This Cincinnati suburb, long a reliable Republican outpost, became a blue corner of the state for Obama

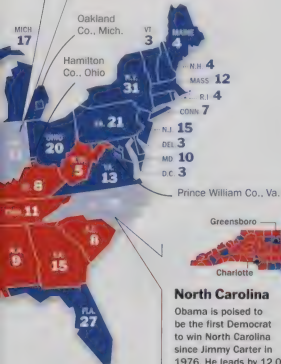
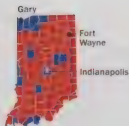


## Obama states

**338**  
Electoral votes  
364 including  
North Carolina  
and Indiana

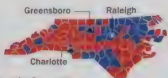
### Indiana

Obama got a big enough boost in Indianapolis and the northwestern counties near Chicago to squeeze out a small lead. Indiana has not gone Democratic since 1964



### North Carolina

Obama is poised to be the first Democrat to win North Carolina since Jimmy Carter in 1976. He leads by 12,000 votes out of more than 4 million cast



**PRINCE WILLIAM CO., VA.**  
This fast-growing exurb of Washington is a key to new Democratic power in the Old Dominion

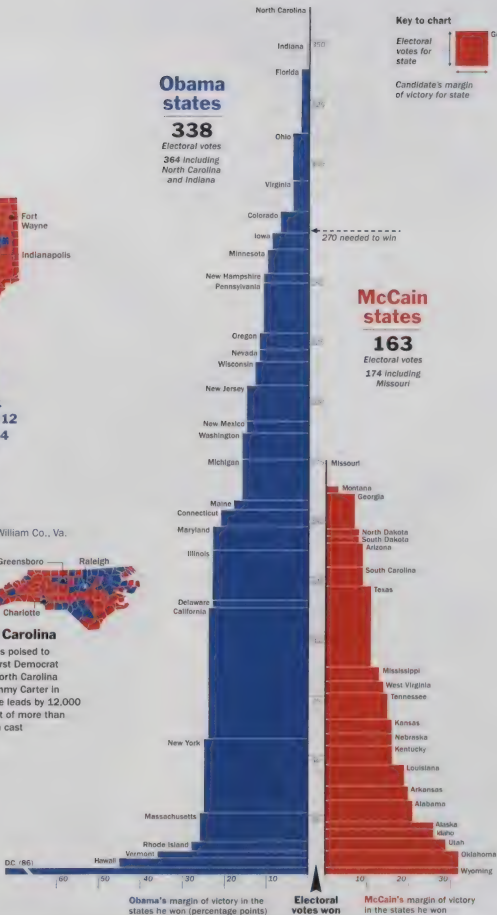


### Key to chart

Electoral votes for state  
Candidate's margin of victory for state

## McCain states

**163**  
Electoral votes  
174 including  
Missouri



Obama's margin of victory in the states he won (percentage points)

Electoral votes won

McCain's margin of victory in the states he won

# A Blue Tide

Democrats expand their reach at all levels of government

## The Senate. New faces but no supermajority



IDAHO  
JIM RISCH

Risch defeated four rivals to fill the seat vacated by Senator Larry Craig, who retired after getting ensnared in a sex scandal. Risch, a Republican and former lieutenant governor, ran on a tax-cut platform but had to defend himself against charges that he had ducked the Vietnam draft.



COLORADO  
MARK UDALL

Democrat Udall beat former Congressman Bob Schaffer for a vacant seat. The son of longtime Arizona Congressman Mo Udall, who mentored John McCain, he benefited from his 2002 House vote against the Iraq invasion and from his green cred, which allowed him to tar his opponent as "Big-Oil Bob."



NEW MEXICO  
TOM UDALL

He joins cousin Mark in the Senate after 10 years in the House. Udall replaces Republican budget hawk Pete Domenici, who had held the seat since 1972. The former state attorney general beat Representative Steve Pearce, who labeled himself "very conservative" in an election that wasn't.

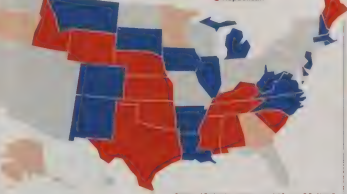
Current Senate



New Senate



Senators elected



Source: AP election returns as of 10 a.m. E.T., Nov. 5



NEBRASKA  
MIKE JOHANNES

Republican Johanns, raised on an Iowa dairy farm, was elected Nebraska's governor in 1998. He resigned to become President Bush's Secretary of Agriculture in 2005, then resigned that post in 2007 to run for—and win—this Senate seat, vacated by Chuck Hagel.



NORTH CAROLINA  
KAY HAGAN

The target of a vicious ad that accused her of accepting funds from "godless Americans," Hagan surged in the closing days, defeating Republican incumbent Elizabeth Dole to take a seat long held by Jesse Helms. Dole's real sin was voting with Bush nearly 90% of the time.



NEW HAMPSHIRE  
JEANNE SHAHEEN

Shaheen, the first woman elected governor of New Hampshire, in 1996, becomes the first woman elected Senator there. In a rematch of her narrow 2002 loss to John E. Sununu, Shaheen capitalized on Bush's unpopularity and Sununu's voting record, as the Granite State went solidly blue.



VIRGINIA  
MARK WARNER

Former Virginia governor Warner convinced voters that his record as governor was stronger than that of his opponent and gubernatorial predecessor, Republican Jim Gilmore. Warner replaces Senate veteran John Warner (no relation), 81, who retired after serving for 30 years.

### Size of party majorities in the Senate



\*In January 2001, the Senate was evenly divided, giving the Republicans control because Vice President Dick Cheney held the tiebreaking vote. In June 2001, Vermont Republican James Jeffords became an independent, giving Democrats control. In the most recent Senate, the Democratic caucus included independents Joe Lieberman of Connecticut and Bernard Sanders of Vermont.

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## The House. The Democrats widen their margin

Previous (110th Congress)

235 Democrats

199 Republicans

New (111th Congress)

252 Democrats

173 Republicans

1 vacancy

218 needed for majority

10 undecided

### Notable races

**Tom McClintock (R., Calif.)**

The darling of the far right won by 451 votes over retired Air Force pilot Charlie Brown in one of California's reddest districts. The small margin triggers a recount by hand

**Betsy Markey (D., Colo.)**

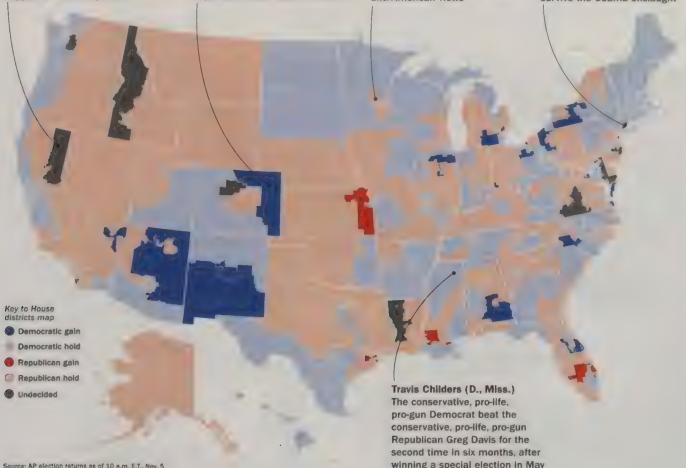
The businesswoman edged out three-term incumbent Marilyn Musgrave, becoming the first Democrat in 35 years to represent northeastern Colorado

**Michele Bachmann (R., Minn.)**

The freshman front runner—and eventual winner—made her race a toss-up after she opined that Obama “may have anti-American views”

**Jim Himes (D., Conn.)**

The former Goldman Sachs executive took down 21-year veteran Chris Shays. Although a moderate, Shays couldn't survive the Obama onslaught



## The States. New leaders, tough questions

### Governors

OLD

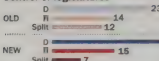
NEW



Governors elected

● Democrat  
● Republican

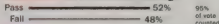
### Control of legislatures



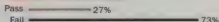
Governors not up for election this year

● Democrat  
● Republican

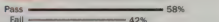
### CALIFORNIA Ban on same-sex marriage



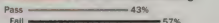
### COLORADO Ban on abortion



### NEBRASKA Ban on affirmative action



### SOUTH DAKOTA Ban on naked short-selling



\*Legislatures total 49 because Nebraska has a nonpartisan, unicameral legislature



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INVESTMENT STRATEGY  
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THE OSCARS

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# 10 Things That Never Happened Before

A black nominee. A presidential spouse on the trail. This campaign created more firsts than any other in U.S. history

BY MARK HALPERIN



## 1

### A Former First Couple Switches Roles

Hillary and Bill Clinton have ruled the chessboard of Democratic politics for so long that almost no move they make comes as a surprise. But the image of a former First Couple swapping roles—with a past President trying to be a supportive spouse and a First Lady emerging as a presidential front runner looking for restitution and restoration—proved a media bonanza, a clashing intraparty cause for concern and elation, and a curiosity for the public. Senator Clinton played the POTUS card shrewdly. She regularly recalled the “good old days” of the 1990s when her husband’s Administration brought peace and prosperity and alternately referred to him cozily as “Bill” or pointedly as “the President.” Bill Clinton, meanwhile, made an early effort to avoid overshadowing her with his famously omnivorous personality but eventually stepped up to play a major strategic role in her campaign. Sometimes he demonstrated flashes of his old brilliance, but by his own account, he was rusty; there were days when he hurt his wife’s chances more than he helped. When the son of a President ran for the office in 2000, former President George H.W. Bush and wife Barbara worked for their boy from behind the scenes. But the Clintons ran much as they had in 1992, as two for the price of one. Many Democratic voters fondly recalled the finer moments of the Clinton years and believed Hillary was ready to be President from Day One, with her husband by her side in the White House to offer guidance and advice.

But the back-to-the-future pitch had a clear downside as well. As an adviser to Barack Obama said at the height of the Obama-Clinton battle, “Bush, Clinton, Bush, Clinton—that sure doesn’t sound like change to me.”



## 2

### Superdelegates Finally Have a Say

AFTER RONALD REAGAN’S LANDSLIDE victory over Jimmy Carter in 1980, Democratic Party insiders decided to give themselves a bigger role in choosing a nominee. To steer the party toward more electable choices, they created the monsters known as superdelegates. Unlike standard delegates to the national convention, who are selected by voters in primaries and caucuses, the supers—simply because they hold key public or party offices—are entitled to cast a vote for the nominee of their choosing.

Obama’s string of 13 primary and nine caucus victories in February left Hillary Clinton with only one path to the nomination—winning a disproportionate share of the more than 800 unelected superdelegates. They ranged from the world famous (Al Gore had superdelegate status as a former Vice President) to the obscure (21-year-old college student Jason Rae won his position after serving as an activist in Wisconsin politics).

Both campaigns swarmed over these officials, learning their views, memorizing their hobbies, bombarding them with appeals to come on board or walk away from the other side. And when charm failed, there was plenty of old-fashioned arm-twisting. For several months, the supers enjoyed a level of attention and notoriety they had escaped for over 20 years. While some were genuinely torn between the new star and the iconic party heroine, nearly all eventually fell in line behind Obama. Most felt he had a better chance at capturing the hearts of independents, beating John McCain, and didn’t want to take the nomination away from an African American who had won at the ballot box. The superdelegates sealed Clinton’s fate.

# 3

## Wrong Track Sky-High

IF VOTERS THINK THE COUNTRY is headed in the wrong direction, the incumbent party shouldn't make plans to keep the White House. Bill Clinton won an upset victory in 1992 largely because relatively few voters thought the country was on the right track; most people were looking for new leadership to change direction.

But after Clinton's surprising first win, the country was split down the middle, with voters taking sides according to ideology and party identification.

Campaign '08 has been different. From the moment Obama entered the race, he presented himself as the candidate of fundamental change—with a biography, campaign strategy and set of priorities to match. His argu-



ment found a receptive audience in part because right-track numbers were at a record low; consistently fewer than 20% of Americans felt the country was going in the right direction, a shockingly low figure—even lower than in 1992—in a nation known for its optimism. The Bush Administration steadily lost favor after a series of botched choices and extreme events (the grinding wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the disastrous handling of Hurricane Katrina, a cluster of embarrassing investigations, the collapse of the economy, etc.), and for most of Bush's second term, the wrong-track number was a colossal drag on the Republican Party's chances. By Election Day, the national mood was so sour that fundamental change seemed the most rational choice.



1980

1984

1988

1992



1996

2000

2004

2008

# 4

## Outsiders In

Experience is an overrated commodity in presidential politics, but typically at least one of the two major parties nominates someone with long-standing ties to Washington and backing from the party establishment. However, in 2008—the first year since 1928 in which neither an incumbent President nor Vice President ran for the top slot—the die was effectively cast before the general-election process began.

On the Republican side, Dick Cheney's resolve not to compete left the GOP without an eminent leader waiting for his turn. McCain, who in 2004 was so alienated from his party that he flirted with becoming John Kerry's running mate, found himself the default front runner, even though many members of the party's core constituencies—Big Business, religious conservatives, Bush loyalists—had disdain for his politics and persona. Although McCain made moves to curry favor with these groups, he never became the kind of Establishment insider the party embraces as a nominee. But none of his chief rivals—Mike Huckabee, Mitt Romney, Rudy Giuliani and Fred Thompson—were aggressive or well organized enough to take the crown away from him.

On the Democratic side, Hillary Clinton was the anticipated front runner for more than a year before the primaries and caucuses began. But Obama's charisma, combined with concern about Clinton fatigue, allowed the young Senator to parlay early success into a role reversal in which he became the choice of party elders such as Ted Kennedy and labor-union leaders. Clinton was forced into the role of underdog.

# 5

## Selling History

Barack Obama's supporters craved a piece of the Obama brand, and for that, the campaign made them pay in all sorts of ingenious ways. Want an Obama blue T shirt with the "O" logo? All yours in return for just three things: your money, your contact information and, ultimately, your vote.

The money, of course, subsidized all those TV ads and the largest staff in political history. By selling branded water bottles, cuff links, tote bags and baby onesies, along with buttons, hats and stickers, at events and on the Internet, the campaign earned a considerable profit that it counted as contributions. It took a page from the way sports teams market their brands and players. Even more valuable than the revenue were the data; merchandising became an organizing tool when customers were required to supply their contact details before they bought. That information enabled the campaign to stay in touch with potential voters by e-mail, telephone and direct mail. Beyond that, it was used to solicit more contributions, organize volunteers, keep supporters informed about the latest campaign news and, above all, make sure they turned out to vote.



# Vyvanse: Now approved for adults with ADHD.

## This is what successful ADHD management could look like.

Fran's ADHD symptoms weren't controlled during her day. She had trouble focusing and finishing her work.

In a clinical study of adults with ADHD, once daily Vyvanse significantly improved symptoms of inattention (e.g. lack of focus), hyperactivity, and impulsivity within one week.

Ask your doctor about Vyvanse.  
1-866-647-4692, [www.vyvanse.com](http://www.vyvanse.com)

FOR ADULTS WITH ADHD

**Vyvanse**™  
lisdexamfetamine  
dimesylate caps.

### IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

Vyvanse is indicated for the treatment of ADHD. Efficacy based on two controlled trials in children aged 6 to 12 and one controlled trial in adults.

**Tell the doctor about any heart conditions, including structural abnormalities, that you, your child, or a family member, may have.** Inform the doctor **immediately** if you or your child develops symptoms that suggest heart problems, such as chest pain or fainting.

Vyvanse should not be taken if you or your child has advanced disease of the blood vessels (arteriosclerosis); symptomatic heart disease; moderate to severe high blood pressure; overactive thyroid gland (hyperthyroidism); known allergy or unusual reactions to drugs called sympathomimetic amines (for example, pseudoephedrine); seizures; glaucoma; a history of problems with alcohol or drugs; agitated states; taken a monoamine oxidase inhibitor (MAOI) within the last 14 days.

Tell the doctor **before** taking Vyvanse if you or your child is being treated for or has symptoms of depression (sadness, worthlessness, or hopelessness) or bipolar disorder; has abnormal thought or visions; hears abnormal sounds, or

has been diagnosed with psychosis; has had seizures or abnormal EEGs; has or has had high blood pressure; exhibits aggressive behavior or hostility. Tell the doctor **immediately** if you or your child develops any of these conditions or symptoms while taking Vyvanse.

**Abuse of amphetamines may lead to dependence. Misuse of amphetamine may cause sudden death and serious cardiovascular adverse events. These events have also been reported rarely with amphetamine use.**

Vyvanse was generally well tolerated in clinical studies. The most common side effects reported in studies of Vyvanse were: *children* decreased appetite, difficulty falling asleep, stomachache, and irritability; *adults* decreased appetite, difficulty falling asleep, and dry mouth.

Aggression, new abnormal thoughts/behaviors, mania, growth suppression, worsening of motion or verbal tics, and Tourette's syndrome have been associated with use of drugs of this type. Tell the doctor if you or your child has blurred vision while taking Vyvanse.

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You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Patient Brief Summary of Full Prescribing Information on the following page.

## MEDICATION GUIDE

### VIYANSE™ (lisdexamfetamine dimesylate) CII

Read the Medication Guide that comes with Viyanse before you or your child starts taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking to your doctor about you or your child's treatment with Viyanse.

#### What is the most important information I should know about Viyanse?

Viyanse is a stimulant medicine. The following have been reported with use of stimulant medicines.

##### 1. Heart-related problems:

- sudden death in patients who have heart problems or heart defects
- stroke and heart attack in adults
- increased blood pressure and heart rate

Tell your doctor if you or your child have any heart problems, heart defects, high blood pressure, or a family history of these problems.

Your doctor should check you or your child carefully for heart problems before starting Viyanse.

Your doctor should check you or your child's blood pressure and heart rate regularly during treatment with Viyanse.

**Call your doctor right away if you or your child has any signs of heart problems such as chest pain, shortness of breath, or fainting while taking Viyanse.**

##### 2. Mental (Psychiatric) problems:

###### All Patients

- new or worse behavior and thought problems
- new or worse bipolar illness
- new or worse aggressive behavior or hostility

###### Children and Teenagers

- new psychotic symptoms (such as hearing voices, believing things that are not true, are suspicious) or new manic symptoms

Tell your doctor about any mental problems you or your child have, or about a family history of suicide, bipolar illness, or depression.

**Call your doctor right away if you or your child have any new or worsening mental symptoms or problems while taking Viyanse, especially seeing or hearing things that are not real, believing things that are not real, or are suspicious.**

#### What Is Viyanse?

Viyanse is a central nervous system stimulant prescription medicine. It is used for the treatment of Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Viyanse may help increase attention and decrease impulsiveness and hyperactivity in patients with ADHD.

Viyanse should be used as a part of a total treatment program for ADHD that may include counseling or other therapies.

**Viyanse is a federally controlled substance (CII) because it can be abused or lead to dependence. Keep Viyanse in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away Viyanse may harm others, and is against the law.**

Tell your doctor if you or your child have (or have a family history of) ever abused or been dependent on alcohol, prescription medicines or street drugs.

#### Who should not take Viyanse?

##### Viyanse should not be taken if you or your child:

- have heart disease or hardening of the arteries
- have moderate to severe high blood pressure
- have hyperthyroidism
- have an eye problem called glaucoma
- is sensitive to, allergic to, or had a reaction to other stimulant medicines
- are very anxious, tense, or agitated
- have a history of drug abuse
- are taking or have taken within the past 14 days an anti-depression medicine called a monoamine oxidase inhibitor or MAOI

Viyanse has not been studied in children less than 6 years old. Viyanse is not recommended for use in children less than 3 years old.

**Viyanse may not be right for you or your child. Before starting Viyanse tell your or your child's doctor about all health conditions (or a family history of) including:**

- heart problems, heart defects, high blood pressure
- liver or kidney problems
- thyroid problems
- mental problems including psychosis, mania, bipolar illness, or depression
- seizures or have had an abnormal brain wave test (EEG)
- tics or Tourette's syndrome

Tell your doctor if you or your child is pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding.

#### Can Viyanse be taken with other medicines?

**Tell your doctor about all of the medicines that you or your child take including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.** Viyanse and some medicines may interact with each other and cause serious side effects. Sometimes the doses of other medicines will need to be adjusted while taking Viyanse.

Your doctor will decide whether Viyanse can be taken with other medicines.

#### Especially tell your doctor if you or your child takes:

- anti-depression medicines including MAOIs
- narcotic pain medicines
- anti-psychotic medicines
- lithium
- blood pressure medicines
- seizure medicines

Know the medicines that you or your child takes. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist.

**Do not start any new medicine while taking Viyanse without talking to your doctor first.**

#### How should Viyanse be taken?

• **Take Viyanse exactly as prescribed.** Viyanse comes in 6 different strength capsules. Your doctor may adjust the dose until it is right for you or your child.

• Take Viyanse once a day in the morning.

• Viyanse can be taken with or without food.

• From time to time, your doctor may stop Viyanse treatment for a while to check ADHD symptoms.

• Your doctor may do regular checks of the blood, heart, and blood pressure while taking Viyanse. Children should have their height and weight checked often while taking Viyanse. Viyanse treatment may be stopped if a problem is found during these check-ups.

• If you or your child takes too much Viyanse or overdoses, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment.

#### What are possible side effects of Viyanse?

See "What is the most important information I should know about Viyanse?" for information on reported heart and mental problems.

#### Other serious side effects include:

- slowing of growth (height and weight) in children
- seizures, mainly in patients with a history of seizures
- eyesight changes or blurred vision

#### Common side effects include:

- upper belly pain
- nausea
- dry mouth
- dizziness
- weight loss
- trouble sleeping
- irritability
- decreased appetite
- vomiting

Viyanse may affect you or your child's ability to drive or do other dangerous activities. Talk to your doctor if you or your child has side effects that are bothersome or do not go away.

This is not a complete list of possible side effects. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

#### How should I store Viyanse?

- Store Viyanse in a safe place at room temperature, 59 to 86°F (15 to 30°C). Protect from light.
- Keep Viyanse and all medicines out of the reach of children.

#### General information about Viyanse

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use Viyanse for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give Viyanse to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them and it is against the law.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about Viyanse. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about Viyanse that was written for healthcare professionals. For more information about Viyanse, please contact Shire US Inc. at 1-800-828-2088.

#### What are the ingredients in Viyanse?

**Active Ingredient:** lisdexamfetamine dimesylate

**Inactive Ingredients:** microcrystalline cellulose, croscarmellose sodium, and magnesium stearate. The capsule shells contain gelatin, titanium dioxide, and one or more of the following: D&C Red #28, D&C Yellow #10, FD&C Blue #1, FD&C Green #3, and FD&C Red #40.

**This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.**

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**Shire**



## 6 An African American but Not Just an African American

IN 1961, ROBERT KENNEDY SUGGESTED THAT THE NATION WAS MOVING SO FAST IN RACE relations that a black could be President in "30 or 40 years." The past four decades have been truly revolutionary in American politics, with a significant increase in the number of minority elected officials, greater voter participation by nonwhites and symbolic runs for President by Shirley Chisholm, Jesse Jackson and Alan Keyes. Obama owes those trailblazers a debt, but his ascendance was the product of something very different from those previous White House bids: not only was race not Obama's signature dimension by any measure, but—with the exception of the Rev. Jeremiah Wright controversy—it was barely an issue at all.

Running with race as an afterthought, Obama didn't just win. He won big. His support among blacks was unprecedented, but he also won by raising money from and building political alliances with the kind of broad coalition that the Kennedys would appreciate: Ivy League-educated captains of industry, labor leaders, military officials, white ethnics, Hispanics, young voters and senior citizens.

Kennedy's life was cut short before he could see his prediction come true, but the barrier has been broken, and never again will the country wonder when or if. Instead the question will be, Who's next?

## 7 Best. Reality Show. Ever.

POLITICS IS SHOW BUSINESS FOR UGLY PEOPLE, the old joke goes, but the 2008 campaign was just plain show business, with a cast of fascinating if not always camera-ready players. Where once campaigns were the stuff of C-SPAN, this cycle had an *Amazing Race* sensibility, with plenty of *American Idol* tossed in. The Clintons and the Obamas played lead roles but benefited from strong supporting performances by the McCains, the Romneys, the Edwardses and the Giulianis and a late, dramatic cameo from the magnetic, provocative Palins.

Each episode—the family dog on the roof, the \$400 haircut, the \$150,000 shopping spree—was chronicled not just by serious news outlets but also by entertainment shows (*Extra*, *Saturday Night Live*), supermarket tabloids and every website under the sun. Beyond the ridiculous and the hilarious—Tina Fey as Sarah Palin became instantly iconic—the plot offered deeply emotional pockets as well: the return of Elizabeth Edwards' cancer in March 2007, the coolly pragmatic (or sincerely motivated) manner in which some longtime Clinton associates transferred their loyalties to Obama, and the death of Obama's grandmother the day before the election. With all this sizzle, scandal and pathos, Campaign '08 was the hit of the season.



## 8 Internet Fund-Raising Comes of Age

Barack Obama is the most prolific fund raiser in the history of American politics. He amassed much of his money the old-fashioned way, with affluent supporters writing him big checks and asking their wealthy friends to write more. But Obama's foremost advantages, and what allowed him to break all records, were Web savviness and volume: his campaign had a seemingly inexhaustible capacity to rake in small contributions over the Internet that, added together, became an intimidating mountain of cash. In September, when Obama collected a stunning \$150 million in 30 days, almost 75% of the haul arrived via the Web. Noted a top Obama moneyman: "We've stopped even having fund raisers."

Obama didn't merely shatter all previous records. He made them irrelevant. In 2000, John McCain sent ripples through the political world by raising around \$6 million on the Web. Four years later, Howard Dean was considered a high-tech revolutionary when he took in \$27 million in e-bucks, while John Kerry raised an impressive \$84 million. Remember, those figures are for entire election cycles: In one good month, Obama topped them all combined.

George W. Bush, once the best fund raiser in American politics, had only modest success with Internet contributions, collecting less than \$18 million in both of his presidential campaigns combined, making him perhaps the last elected President to fill his campaign coffers with paper checks rather than pixels.

Future presidential candidates will probably try to duplicate Obama's success, collecting small sums in mass quantities and forgoing the spending limits that come with public campaign money. Whether less inspiring candidates can match his success is uncertain.



9

## Mooseburgers, Snow Machines And Serious Politics

In a stunning, starmaking two-month burst of attention, Sarah Palin took her home state of Alaska into every American living room. Before the photogenic Palin family hit the scene, the most famous Alaskan was probably the singer Jewel, outpacing Richard Nixon's Interior Secretary Walter Hickel and 2008 Democratic presidential novelty candidate Mike Gravel, a Vietnam-era Senator. After her last-minute nomination to the Republican ticket, every major news organization dispatched reporters to dig into the governor's background and unwrap the state's curious political culture, and soon nearly 100% of Americans had formed an opinion about Palin. (Not to mention her husband Todd, an oil-slope worker and snow-machine champion with Eskimo lineage and the nickname "First Dude.")

Alaska's previous place in the national consciousness resulted from its status as a rugged vacation spot, the setting of the TV series *Northern Exposure* and the debates over drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and over the "bridge to nowhere." Now the 49th state is a political and cultural hot spot, defined as much by mooseburgers, Wasillamania and Palin's trademark glasses as by Troopergate and just-convicted Senator Ted Stevens, whose transgressions highlighted the state's less attractive political practices.

10

## An October Surprise (in September)

ENDGAME EVENTS ALWAYS MATTER. THE TUMULT OF LATE 1968 defined that election for a generation. Gerald Ford sealed his fate with a gaffe about Eastern Europe in a 1976 debate, and Ronald Reagan never looked back after a strong performance in 1980's only presidential debate. But never has one eleventh-hour external event so transformed the trajectory of a presidential campaign.

Emerging from his spirited Republican Convention in early September, McCain was defying political gravity in a grim year for the incumbent party by surging in the polls. After months of relative confidence, Democrats were suddenly alarmed: Could they possibly blow yet another presidential election?

Then, on Sept. 15, everything changed. On that single day Lehman Brothers declared bankruptcy, Bank of America salvaged a troubled Merrill Lynch, the Dow dropped 500 points, and McCain famously declared that "the fundamentals of our economy are strong." It was the start of a big, bad political catastrophe for McCain and Republican candidates all over the country.

The drumbeat of bad economic news never let up through Election Day, drowning out any other message Republicans tried to deliver and blunting the impact of character attacks against Obama. McCain compounded his problems by lurching erratically from one posture to another on the economy, while Obama remained calm, cool and consistent.

Obama might have won the White House without the dramatic intervention of the economic crisis, but history will record that from Sept. 15 onward, Republican chances of victory plummeted—much like the value of a 401(k).



**Shortchanged** Customers wait at Indymac after a run by depositors left little cash



**Marking time** Early voters line up for 2½ hours to cast ballots on Oct. 21 in Marietta, Ga.



# Doing the Math

Twenty months, 50 states and tens of millions of voters are only some of the numbers this Obama pollster had to manage as he steered his boss to victory. This is how he did it



**Exit poll** Obama numbers guy Benenson, below, says the candidate paid little heed to pundits



ON ELECTION DAY, WITH NOTHING LEFT TO DO but wait for results, Obama pollster Joel Benenson spoke with TIME's Amy Sullivan. The former reporter turned numbers man talked about how the Obama team developed its strategy for taking on John McCain, how Obama managed to sustain a consistent message for the duration of the race and why the Obama campaign resisted calls to aggressively woo Hillary Clinton voters. Here's Benenson's inside take on how Obama won:

## On the effort to define John McCain:

One of the things that struck us as we entered the general election was that two pieces of conventional wisdom had been stood on their heads. The first was that Barack Obama actually had a much better defined image with voters than John McCain did, especially on key attributes related to bringing about change in

Washington: he had a 13 point advantage on "would stand up to special interests," a 12 point edge on whether he could "change partisan politics," a 26 point advantage on "would stand up for the middle class."

For McCain, the biography metrics were very strong—people thought he was tough, thought he was ready to be Commander in Chief. But beyond that, voters really didn't

have an image of him as this fiercely independent maverick. I don't think we thought the general election would be anything other than "change vs. more of the same."

We didn't think it was that complicated. We were running against somebody who wanted to continue George Bush's economic policies, Bush's policy in Iraq, the same tax policies. Among the elites, he had an image of being this independent, but among the public he was just another Republican politician.

This is a guy who said, "The press corps is my base," and I think it was. He didn't get that he wasn't defined. You gotta be consistent. You gotta reinforce what you stand for. But through his

campaign policies, McCain was reinforcing that he was more of the same. That "Miss Congeniality" line—what did that mean to voters? It didn't mean that he fundamentally disagreed with the ideology of George Bush.

## On winning over Hillary Clinton's supporters:

The second piece of conventional wisdom that was completely wrong was which groups we would be strong with. The notion that voters who supported Senator Clinton would vote Republican in the general election was never supported by what we saw in our polling. At the beginning of June, going into the general election, Obama had a double-digit lead in our battleground poll against McCain among women. He was competitive among Catholics and led 2 to 1 among Latinos.

The press corps had focused on all these groups in the last three months of the primary and was convinced that they would pose problems for us in the general. But that just wasn't true, and we recognized that early on. As a result, we were able to focus on swing voters instead of worrying about parts of the base that were already with us. We looked at groups where Obama could make gains and at places where he could broaden the map.

## On the value of consistency for a campaign:

When you go from a primary to a general, you say, "We know what worked in the



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primary. Will it work in a general election?" There was a nuanced change that we made in our slogan, right before the convention—from "Change you can believe in" to "Change we need." But other than that, our message stayed very consistent.

There was a moment, before the conventions, when it definitely seemed like McCain's campaign was gearing up to drive home a message about shaking up Washington. They put out an ad that said he was called "the original maverick." But once they got out of their convention, they really stopped driving that message and instead went on the attack in a way that was undermining the image of change that McCain was trying to drive. You can't send mixed messages out to the electorate.

#### On the ultimate meaning of the 2008 election:

Any candidate for President has to clear a Commander in Chief threshold on whether they have the judgment and readiness to lead. But we believed from the start that the economy would trump issues. We saw continually that voters really were focused on wanting long-term solutions. Senator Obama immediately opposed the gas-tax holiday because it was exactly the type of Washington [gimmick] he was saying wouldn't solve our problems.

This was not a small election. This was a big election. But McCain talked about earmarks instead of about changing the tax code. When the issue was energy independence, his focal point was drilling instead of getting us off this addiction to oil.

Barack Obama spoke to a kind of change that resonated with Americans. They have grown weary not just of the type of politics we've seen but also of how politics has gotten in the way of solving real problems. In this campaign, voters have always known the stakes were very high.

## In Their Words. Obama's team on their favorite trail moments



The messenger Axelrod gave Obama bad New Hampshire news

#### The Time of Their Life

There's a rhythm to all this that you have to get used to. Most people in the country had heard him speak once, and it was at the 2004 Democratic Convention. So when he went to a meet and greet with voters, people expected to hear the convention speech. That took a little getting used to. During the primary season, at one of the labor cattle calls in D.C., he was the last [of nine candidates] to speak. There are about eight things that you're going to say to this group, and they've all now been said. I remember he was down after that because he just couldn't understand why it had gone so poorly. So we're flying to Iowa, and Reggie [Love, his personal assistant] and he are sitting next to each other, and I'm saying, "Senator, you just have to figure out how to enjoy this, you have to figure out how to have a little fun. Are you having any fun right now?" And he said, "I'm not having any fun at all." And Reggie, without blinking an eye, pipes up and says, "Man, I'm having the time of my life!"

*Robert Gibbs, Obama campaign senior communications strategist*

#### A Simple Gift

After the Feb. 21 debate in Austin, Texas, we were leaving in the morning. Barack had the flu. There was an elderly black gentleman who had been our elevator operator for three days. As we got to the ground floor, he said, "Senator Obama, I have something I want to give you," and he handed him his military patch. He said, "I've carried this military patch with me every day for 40 years, and I want you to carry it, and it will keep you safe in your journey." It was just such an unbelievable act of generosity. So later we asked Barack what he had done with it. And he pulled it out of his pocket and said, "This is why I do this. Because people have their hopes and dreams about what we can do together." *Valerie Jarrett, senior Obama adviser*

#### Bracing on the Campaign Plane

Marvin [Nicholson], the trip director, came out to Senator Obama and whispered in his ear. Senator Obama said, "What's wrong with the plane?" Marvin said there was something wrong with the hydraulic system. He told us that we would be landing in a city other than our destination and that we might want to assume the brace position. [Obama] said, "What's that?" Marvin explained, and Obama's reaction was one word: "Golly." After we landed safely, the first thing he did was call his wife, who had been watching it on cable.

*Linda Douglass, Obama spokeswoman*

#### In Kuwait:

**Nothing but Net**  
We'd been there two years before, on his previous Iraq trip—same gym, same base. We walked in, not sure what to expect, and the gym was packed. He sort of teed up the basketball, and it was in the air, and I thought there's no way this is going on. And the next thing you know—swish!—and the whole place just went crazy. He came over to me and just sort of smiled, and he said, "I knew I was going to make it."

*Mark Lippert, Obama's top foreign affairs staffer in the Senate, on the 3-pointer Obama made on his July trip overseas*

#### Learning from Losing

Obviously, we thought we were going to win [New Hampshire]. We should have listened to what we were feeling instead of what we were told. We had to go up and tell him in the hotel that in fact we were going to lose. And he asked some questions about why we thought that was going to be. He leaned up against a wall and smiled kind of wanly and said, "This thing is going to go on for a while, isn't it?" And we said, "Yeah. It's going to go on for a while."

*David Axelrod, Obama's chief strategist, on losing the New Hampshire primary to Hillary*

—COMPILED BY  
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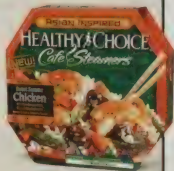
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# Crossing the Color Line

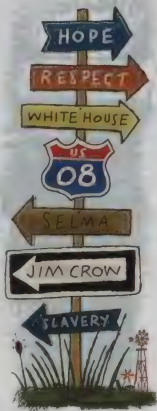
Obama's victory won't heal all racial divisions. To succeed as President, he must still look past them

THE AFRICAN SLAVES WHO PROVIDED most of the labor that built the White House never imagined that a black man would ever own embossed stationery that read 1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. Even the dreamer himself, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., might not have imagined that 40 short years after his murder, we would be planning an Inauguration of the first man of African descent to ascend to the presidency. No minority of any ethnicity had ever looked beyond the scarce representation of a few Senators and seen anything that suggested that the doorknob of the Oval Office could be opened by anything other than the hand of a middle-aged white male.

One of the youngest Presidents in the history of our nation will bring new shades to the canvas of white leaders who came before his unprecedented political career. Senator Barack Obama has proved to be a biracial icon who can mobilize blacks and whites alike. Perhaps his mixed parentage gave him the multi-cultural background needed to be culturally bilingual, creating the dialogue that may bridge our divide.

Our national demographic has metamorphosed into a darker-hued population, which is changing how America plans for the future. The cultural dialogue and language are changing. Political parties, churches and corporations must rethink how we go forward and with whose needs in mind. Without question, Obama's Administration will reshape the good-ole-boys' club we have seen for centuries, altering the political terrain, and it may very well spawn new hope for the disenfranchised.

**Obama cannot acquiesce to the liberals who support him nor vilify the conservatives who don't. He must garner the best and brightest from both**



But before we light candles and sing "Kumbaya," it may be wise to adjust our expectation to a realistic depiction of attainable goals.

No one man's appointment will end all racial tension. Nor will it totally eradicate the residual bitterness inherent in a society where such atrocities as slavery and Jim Crow lie only a few miles behind us. In fact, the economic crisis facing the country demands that the Obama Administration move past the pettiness of race matters with the haste of a paramedic driving an ambulance. Tomorrow we will not care about the color of the driver nor the pronunciation of his name. Instead, our hope is in his ability to provide the medicine this nation desperately needs to rise again.

According to recent reports, some white Democrats said they couldn't vote for Obama because he was black. And yes, a few blacks may have voted for him solely because he was black. But most blacks have not been blinded by race. Though proud of his blackness, those


who did vote for him were far more thoughtful in making the decision and based their vote on promises that he now must keep. To think that this election was a shoo-in for him among blacks because of our affinity for our own people is disingenuous at best and at worst insults our intelligence. And it ignores the fact that many other blacks have run for President and walked away without winning a primary, much less the presidency. Neither Shirley Chisholm, Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, Alan Keyes nor any other black candidate amassed black support the way Obama did.

As Barack Hussein Obama places his brown hand on that black Bible and takes his oath, it will not make him merely the President of blacks who admire him nor leave him indebted to whites who assisted him. He cannot acquiesce to the liberals who support him nor vilify the conservatives who don't. He must remain a philosophical centrist who garners our best and brightest from both sides of the aisle. He must transcend all of that and rise to the global perspective of his calling and through it serve his God, his country and the rainbow coalition of the people of this great nation. We can hope he can re-establish the international respect we have lost and gradually convince the watching, waiting world that a change for us is good for them.

The war of the long primaries is finally over; the crazed bickering of the campaign is finally gone. What remains is the strong survival instinct that made us reconstructive after the Civil War, resilient through the Depression and tenaciously united after the atrocities of 9/11. If we are to succeed from here on out, black, white and brown must melt into a brilliant depiction of red, white and blue. One thing is sure: President-elect Obama was right when he said, "Together we can!"



Jakes is an author, a pastor of the Potter's House church in Texas and a producer of the upcoming film *Nt Don't Easily Broken*



someone who's got what you've got  
is out doing what you're not

Help prevent asthma symptoms before they start. Talk to your doctor about prescription SINGULAIR. Once-a-day SINGULAIR is proven to help control asthma symptoms for 24 hours. It helps relieve indoor and outdoor allergy symptoms too. Help prevent asthma symptoms—help yourself breathe a little easier while doing the things you want to do. Ask your doctor about steroid-free SINGULAIR.

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**SINGULAR<sup>®</sup> (SING-u-lair) Tablets, Chewable Tablets, and Oral Granules**

Generic name: montelukast (mon-te-LOO-kast) sodium

Read this information before you start taking SINGULAR<sup>®</sup>. Also, read the leaflet you get each time you refill SINGULAR, since there may be new information in the leaflet since the last time you saw it. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition and/or your treatment.

**What is SINGULAR<sup>®</sup>?**

SINGULAR is a medicine called a leukotriene receptor antagonist. It works by blocking substances in the body called leukotrienes. Blocking leukotrienes improves asthma and allergic rhinitis. SINGULAR is not a steroid. Studies have shown that SINGULAR does not affect the growth rate of children. (See the end of this leaflet for more information about asthma and allergic rhinitis.)

SINGULAR is prescribed for the treatment of asthma, the prevention of exercise-induced asthma, and allergic rhinitis:

**1. Asthma**

SINGULAR should be used for the long-term management of asthma in adults and children ages 12 months and older.

**Do not take SINGULAR for the immediate relief of an asthma attack.** If you get an asthma attack, you should follow the instructions your doctor gave you for treating asthma attacks.

**2. Prevention of exercise-induced asthma**

SINGULAR is used for the prevention of exercise-induced asthma in patients 15 years of age and older.

**3. Allergic Rhinitis**

SINGULAR is used to help control the symptoms of allergic rhinitis (sneezing, stuffy nose, itchy nose, itching of the nose). SINGULAR is used to treat seasonal allergic rhinitis (outdoor allergies that happen part of the year) in adults and children ages 2 years and older, and perennial allergic rhinitis (indoor allergies that happen all year) in adults and children ages 6 months and older.

**Who should not take SINGULAR?**

Do not take SINGULAR if you are allergic to SINGULAR or any of its ingredients.

The active ingredient in SINGULAR is montelukast sodium.

See the end of this leaflet for a list of all the ingredients in SINGULAR.

**What should I tell my doctor before I start taking SINGULAR?**

Tell your doctor about:

- **Pregnancy:** If you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant, SINGULAR may not be right for you.
- **Breast-feeding:** If you are breast-feeding, SINGULAR may be passed in your milk to your baby. You should consult your doctor before taking SINGULAR if you are breast-feeding or intend to breast-feed.
- **Medical Problems or Allergies:** Talk about any medical problems or allergies you have now or had in the past.
- **Other Medicines:** Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, and herbal supplements. Some medicines may affect how SINGULAR works, or SINGULAR may affect how your other medicines work.

**How should I take SINGULAR?**

**For adults and children 12 months of age and older with asthma:**

- Take SINGULAR **every day** in the evening.
- Take SINGULAR every day for as long as your doctor prescribes it, even if you have no asthma symptoms.
- You may take SINGULAR with food or without food.
- If your asthma symptoms get worse, or if you need to increase the use of your inhaled rescue medicine for asthma attacks, call your doctor right away.
- **Do not take SINGULAR for the immediate relief of an asthma attack.** If you get an asthma attack, you should follow the instructions your doctor gave you for treating asthma attacks.
- Always have your inhaled rescue medicine for asthma attacks with you.
- Do not stop taking or lower the dose of your other asthma medicines unless your doctor tells you to.

**For patients 15 years of age and older for the prevention of exercise-induced asthma:**

- Take SINGULAR at least 2 hours before exercise.
- Always have your inhaled rescue medicine for asthma attacks with you.
- If you are taking SINGULAR daily for chronic asthma or allergic rhinitis, do not take an additional dose to prevent exercise-induced asthma. Speak to your doctor about your

- treatment of exercise-induced asthma.
- Do not take an additional dose of SINGULAR within 24 hours of a previous dose.

**For adults and children 2 years of age and older with seasonal allergic rhinitis, or for adults and children 6 months of age and older with perennial allergic rhinitis:**

- Take SINGULAR once a day, at about the same time each day.
- Take SINGULAR every day for as long as your doctor prescribes it.
- You may take SINGULAR with food or without food.

**How should I give SINGULAR oral granules to my child?**

Do not open the packet until ready to use.

SINGULAR 4-mg oral granules can be given:

- directly in the mouth;
- dissolved in 1 teaspoonful (5 mL) of cold or room temperature baby formula or milk;
- mixed with a spoonful of one of the following soft foods at cold or room temperature: applesauce, mashed carrots, rice, cereal cream.

Be sure that the entire dose is mixed with the food, baby formula, or breast milk and that the child is given the entire spoonful of the food, baby formula, or breast milk mixture right away (within 15 minutes).

**IMPORTANT: Never store any oral granules mixed with food, baby formula, or breast milk for use at a later time. Throw away any unused portion.**

**Do not put SINGULAR oral granules in any liquid drink other than baby formula or breast milk.** However, your child may drink liquids after swallowing the SINGULAR oral granules.

**What is the dose of SINGULAR?**

**For asthma—Take once daily in the evening:**

- One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents 15 years of age and older.
- One 5-mg chewable tablet for children 6 to 14 years of age.
- One 4-mg chewable tablet or one packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 2 to 5 years of age, or
- One packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 12 to 23 months of age.

**For exercise-induced asthma—Take at least 2 hours before exercise, but not more than once daily:**

- One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents 15 years of age and older.

**For allergic rhinitis—Take once daily at about the same time each day:**

- One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents 15 years of age and older.
- One 5-mg chewable tablet for children 6 to 14 years of age.
- One 4-mg chewable tablet for children 2 to 5 years of age, or
- One packet of 4-mg oral granules for children 2 to 5 years of age with seasonal allergic rhinitis, or for children 6 months to 5 years of age with perennial allergic rhinitis.

**What should I avoid while taking SINGULAR?**

If you have asthma and if your asthma is made worse by aspirin, continue to avoid aspirin or other medicines called non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs while taking SINGULAR.

**What are the possible side effects of SINGULAR?**

The side effects of SINGULAR are usually mild, and generally did not cause patients to stop taking their medicine. The side effects in patients treated with SINGULAR were similar in type and frequency to side effects in patients who were given a pill containing no medicine.

The most common side effects with SINGULAR include:

- stomach pain
- stomach or intestinal upset
- heartburn
- tiredness
- fever
- stuffy nose
- cough
- flu
- upper respiratory infection
- dizziness
- headache
- rash

Less common side effects that have happened with SINGULAR include:

- increased bleeding tendency
- allergic reactions (including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat (which may cause trouble breathing or swallowing), hives and itching)
- behavior and mood related changes (agitation including aggressive behavior, bad/vivid dreams, depression, feeling anxious, hallucinations (seeing things that are not there), irritability, restlessness, suicidal thoughts and actions (including suicide), tremor, trouble sleeping)
- drowsiness, pins and needles/numbness,

- seizures (convulsions or fits)
- palpitations
- nose bleed
- diarrhea, indigestion, inflammation of the pancreas, nausea, vomiting
- hepatitis
- bruising
- joint pain, muscle aches and muscle cramps
- swelling

Rarely, asthmatic patients taking SINGULAR have experienced a condition that includes certain symptoms that may lead to anaphylaxis or that get worse. These occur usually, but not always, in patients who were taking steroid pills but moving to asthma and those steroids were being slowly lowered or stopped. Although SINGULAR has not been shown to cause this condition, you must tell your doctor right away if you get one or more of these symptoms:

- a feeling of pins and needles or numbness of arms or legs
- a flu-like illness
- rash
- severe inflammation (pain and swelling) of the sinuses (sinusitis)

These are not all the possible side effects of SINGULAR. For more information ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Talk to your doctor if you think you have side effects from taking SINGULAR.

**General Information about the safe and effective use of SINGULAR**

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use SINGULAR for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give SINGULAR to other people even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them. **Keep SINGULAR and all medicines out of the reach of children.**

Store SINGULAR at 25°C (77°F). Protect from moisture and light. Store in original package.

This leaflet summarizes information about SINGULAR. If you would like more information, talk to your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about SINGULAR that is written for health professionals.

**What are the ingredients in SINGULAR?**

Active ingredient: montelukast sodium

**SINGULAR chewable tablets contain aspartame, a source of phenylalanine.**

Phenylalanine: SINGULAR 4-mg and 5-mg chewable tablets contain 0.674 and 0.842 mg phenylalanine, respectively.

Inactive ingredients:

- 4-mg oral granules: mannitol, hydroxypropyl cellulose, and magnesium stearate.
- 4-mg and 5-mg chewable tablets: mannitol, microcrystalline cellulose, hydroxypropyl cellulose, red ferric oxide, crosscarmellose sodium, cherry flavor, aspartame, and magnesium stearate.
- 10-mg tablet: microcrystalline cellulose, lactose monohydrate, crosscarmellose sodium, hydroxypropyl cellulose, magnesium stearate, hydroxypropyl methylcellulose, titanium dioxide, red ferric oxide, yellow ferric oxide, and carnauba wax.

**What is asthma?**

Asthma is a continuing (chronic) inflammation of the bronchial passageways which are the tubes that carry air from outside the body to the lungs.

Symptoms of asthma include:

- wheezing
- chest tightness
- shortness of breath

**What is exercise-induced asthma?**

Exercise-induced asthma, more accurately called exercise-induced bronchoconstriction occurs when exercise triggers symptoms of asthma.

**What is allergic rhinitis?**

- Seasonal allergic rhinitis, also known as hay fever, is triggered by outdoor allergens such as pollens from trees, grasses, and weeds.
- Perennial allergic rhinitis may occur year-round and is generally triggered by indoor allergens such as dust mites, animal dander, and mold spores.

Symptoms of allergic rhinitis may include:

- stuffy, runny, and/or itchy nose
- sneezing

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US Patent No. 5,565,473

Issued July 2008

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# Obama's Journey

TIME photographer Callie Shell covered his campaign for two years. An intimate look back at the long path to victory

Aug. 29 | **The battleground** After the Democratic Convention, Obama and running mate Joe Biden set out on a bus tour of swing states Ohio and Pennsylvania.



ATKINSON

*On the first night, they stop in Beaver, Pa., where Obama speaks about fighting terrorism*



**Jan. 8** | **The winter slog** Obama and his wife Michelle on the day of the New Hampshire primary, which he lost to Senator Hillary Clinton



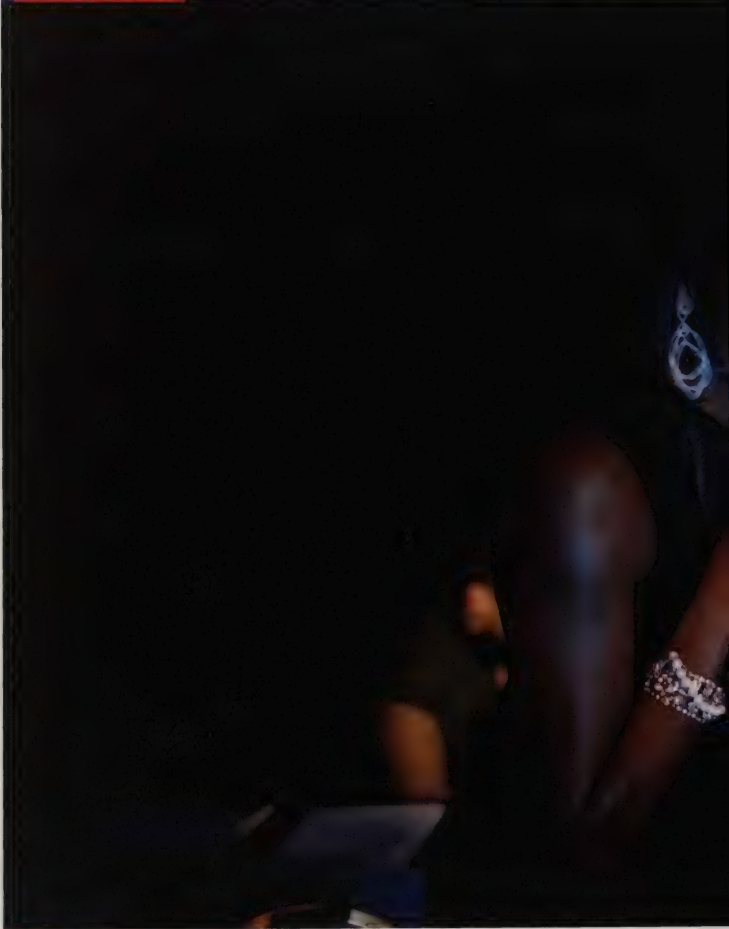
**March 1** | **Shoe-leather politics** Still battling in the primaries, Obama speaks with reporters after pounding the pavement in Rhode Island



**April 5 Campaign fitness** Obama takes a moment for a chin-up at the University of Montana in Missoula. He played basketball on Election Day



**Sept. 28 | The ticket** Obama and Biden speak before a rally at a public library in Detroit. They carried Michigan 56% to 42%



**Oct. 16 | The First Couple** Michelle and Barack Obama backstage at a concert at New York City's Hammerstein Ballroom, where Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band performed.



*Billy Joel performed together for the first time. The fundraiser's tickets ran from \$500 to \$10,000*

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★ ELECTION 2008

# The New Agenda

You don't hoard political capital in a crisis. Here are five steps that would help get America back on track

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD



Illustration for TIME by C.J. Burton



**T**HE BAD NEWS FACING PRESIDENT-elect Barack Obama barely even qualifies as news anymore. The economy is kaput. So is America's reputation in the world. There is a record deficit and a \$10 trillion debt. The planet is getting dangerously warm. The government has gotten embarrassingly lame. There's an energy crisis, an immigration crisis and a Medicare crisis, and Washington can't seem to do anything about any of it.

The good news for Obama: see above. It has become fashionable to wonder why anyone in his right mind would want to inherit this mess, but messing inheriting is almost a prerequisite for presidential greatness. And taking over the nation from a President as unpopular as George W. Bush is a bit like taking over the New York Knicks from Isiah Thomas; the bar couldn't be much lower. As a history-making President, as a Democrat with a Democratic Congress and as the guy who ran on change, Obama will move into the White House with a warehouse full of political capital. So how should he spend it?

Like battle plans, nine-point policy statements on campaign websites rarely survive contact with reality. Obama

won't be able to complete all his to-do lists in his first 100 days—and maybe not even in his first 1,000. But the financial crisis provides a unique opportunity for improvisation; if Bush could get a \$700 billion Wall Street bailout, it's hard to imagine anything off-limits to Obama. He pledged to help the middle class, promote energy independence, expand health coverage and fix Washington; as the nation hurtles toward a cliff, he'll have some leeway for how to go about it.

That said, this is no time for small ball or wedge issues or paybacks for loyal Democratic constituencies. This is a time to confront some powerful interests, dismantle some entrenched Washington traditions and set bold new priorities. It's also a time to ignore the austerity-mongering scolds (including the debate moderators) who have pestered Obama to scale back his vision at a time when public investment is desperately needed to drag the economy out of the ditch. Yes, the spending binge of the past eight years has added trillions in debt. Yes, more spending will mean even more debt. But a depression would mean more debt too. So here are five steps that would help get America back on track.

## 1 A New New Deal

WE'RE ALL SUPPOSED TO BE KEYNESIANS now, so we should understand that government spending creates short-term economic stimulus, which is one reason the Bush-era bubble took so long to burst. But not all government spending is created equal. Obama needs to pump serious cash into the economy in a way that promotes his long-term priorities. That means billions for energy-efficient and climate-friendly infrastructure like wind turbines, solar panels and mass transit, but nothing for new sprawl roads that ravage nature and promote gas-guzzling. That means stronger levees and restored wetlands that will help protect New Orleans from the next storm, but no more traditional pork-barrel water projects that destroy wetlands and waste money. Mostly, it means revamping Washington's dysfunctional method of selecting and funding infrastructure projects.

America's infrastructure is broken, with more than 150,000 structurally deficient bridges, 3,500 unsafe dams and antiquated sewer systems that need an estimated \$400 billion



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worth of improvements. That's a big long-term problem for America's economic competitiveness. But the Federal Government's two basic approaches to infrastructure are broken too. The most notorious is known as "earmarking," the stashing of pet projects into larger bills by members of Congress, and while Obama was correct to remind John McCain that earmarks are only 1% of the budget, they're a lousy way to decide what gets built. An example: the \$23 billion water-resources bill crammed with 900 projects for the already overloaded Army Corps of Engineers. These projects won't be funded according to need, cost-effectiveness or relation to national priorities; they'll be funded according to congressional clout. The same goes for the 6,300 earmarks—including Alaska's "bridge to nowhere"—stuffed into the \$286 billion transportation bill.

Profligate as that sounds, earmarks made up less than 10% of the bill's cost. The rest of the cash went to state transportation agencies to spend as they pleased—often on their own roads to nowhere, which is why the bill is usually called the "highway bill" in Washington. Most states consistently favor roads over mass transit, building new roads over repairing old ones and building those new roads in rural rather than



metropolitan areas. That means more sprawl, more traffic, more smog, more foreign oil and more carbon emissions, but the feds don't seem to care. In fact, the current archaic federal rules encourage all these biases; strict cost-benefit analyses are required for transit projects, but for highway projects, you can pretty much just roll out the asphalt.

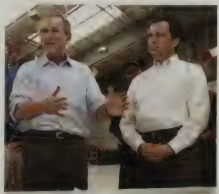
To jump-start the economy, Obama needs to spread around hundreds of billions of dollars, and he'd be wise to start with the currently underfunded efforts to restore the Everglades, coastal Louisiana and the Great Lakes; to repair crumbling dams, dikes, sewer pipes and bridges; to promote high-speed rail, light rail and other transit systems besieged by skyrocketing demand; even to accelerate research into renewable energy and alternative fuels. But first he should

repeal the old water and highway bills—two of the most popular pieces of legislation on pork-obsessed Capitol Hill—and demand a new approach. He can call it a New New Deal or a Green New Deal, but it needs to be a deal, not just a spending spree. How it would work is simple: the feds would supply cash but only to promote federal priorities. So funding decisions would be made by technocrats rather than congressional ribbon-cutters—like similarly hyperpolitical military-base-closing decisions—and strings would be attached.

To his credit, Obama has proposed a "national infrastructure bank" designed to depoliticize these decisions, but he has also proposed a \$25 billion bailout for fiscally strapped states, which sounds like more of the same. In the Clinton era, welfare reformers successfully argued that federal aid is not a right and that recipients have responsibilities. Now the Bush era is ending with gigantic few-strings-attached handouts to banks and talk of new bailouts for automakers who won't even be required to increase fuel efficiency. Obama needs to make it clear that while Big Government might be necessary right now, the era of Big Government that doesn't insist on intelligent returns on its investment is over.

## 2 Repeal Bush

OBAMA CAN'T UNDO THE LAST EIGHT years, but he can serve notice on Day One that the Bush Administration is really, really over. He could start by reversing Bush's regulatory efforts to weaken federal oversight of mining, housing, drilling, finance and other favored industries. He could offer the middle class much needed relief by proposing quickly to restore Clinton-era upper-income tax rates and reduce the tax burden for everyone else. He could drop Bush's legal battles to block California from enhancing its environmental protections. The End of the National Nightmare Executive Order could also include: No more torture. No more "threat levels" designed to make people freak out about unnamed dangers. No more "signing statements" declaring executive prerogative to ignore laws the President doesn't like. No more firing prosecutors for failing to go along with a political agenda. And while he's at it: No more timber lobbyists running the Forest Service, oil lobbyists editing climate reports, Wall Street lobbyists



running the SEC or Arabian-horse commissioners running anything. (Sorry, Brownie.) No more T ball in the Rose Garden either. It's cute, but it might bring back memories.

The Do Not Call Registry and that marine reserve in Hawaii can stay.

## 3 Make Nice with the World

PUNDITS HAD A FIELD DAY WITH THE rock-star reception Obama received following his July speech in Berlin, but it's a nice change that the world seems to adore the next President. Obama should exploit this goodwill with an encore—a triumphant global tour, but this time with strings attached. Sure, he should offer the world a return of U.S. leadership and a responsible, collaborative foreign policy. But he should nail down some commitments in return.

Foreign leaders are already thrilled with Obama for the simple reason that he is not George W. Bush. He can make them even happier with a noncowboy agenda: closing Guantánamo, starting to withdraw from Iraq, reviving the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and other deals Bush rejected, restoring some semblance of diplomatic relations with foreign pariahs, renouncing the neo-conservative vision of democratizing the Middle East by force, even reviving the Washington tradition known as the



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state dinner. The crowds will go wild. And there will never be a better time to extract some concessions from allies and enemies alike.

So what should Obama ask for? He should start by demanding more allied troops for Afghanistan, where he plans to increase the U.S. presence. He could push for more pressure on Iran and North Korea to abandon their nuclear programs, less enabling of Russian thuggishness in Eastern Europe and joint action to fight genocide and global warming. He could demand an end to gratuitous Israel-bashing at the U.N. He could even pressure his new fanboy Nicolas Sarkozy of France and other Europeans to slash their outrageous farm subsidies, which are shafting Third World farmers and stalling global trade talks. Of course, even the most Obama-infatuated Europeans will never agree to a sane farm policy until Americans do. Speaking of which...



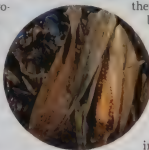
## 4

### A Sane Farm Policy

U.S. AGRICULTURE POLICY IS A JUMBLE, but the basic goal is simple: redistribute money to big commodity farmers. The median farmer's net worth is five times the median American's, and the top one-tenth of farmers get three-fourths of the subsidies. It's a welfare program for the megafarms that use the most fuel, water and pesticides; emit the most greenhouse gases; grow the most fattening crops; hire the most illegals; and depopulate rural America.

Antibesity, antipov-  
erty, free trade, balanced-  
budget and environmental  
activists have clamored for re-  
form, but nobody works farm policy  
harder than the farm lobby, and farm-  
state politicians—including Obama—  
have protected the status quo. Still,  
Obama's agri-pandering didn't win  
him the Farm Bureau endorsement,  
even though McCain opposed farm  
giveaways. And Obama has suggested  
that he's open to more sensible poli-  
cies that would promote less energy-  
intensive agriculture.

How about repealing the \$307 bil-  
lion farm bill and slashing subsidies—  
especially the for-no-apparent reason  
"direct payments" we send to commodity



farmers in good times and bad. Farm lob-  
bysts will squeal, but 60% of U.S. farmers  
receive no subsidies. Instead, Obama can  
increase conservation subsidies for farm-  
ers who adopt green practices. He should  
also repeal the counterproductive man-  
dates that will require the production of  
36 billion gal. (136 billion L) of biofuels  
by 2022. Biofuels like corn ethanol sound  
great, and Obama supports them, but  
they accelerate global warming  
because shifting production  
from food to fuel leads to  
massive emissions from  
deforestation when farm-  
ers expand to grow more  
food. The biofuel boom is  
also jacking up the price  
of grain, which is increas-  
ing food prices and trigger-  
ing food riots in countries like  
Yemen, Haiti and Pakistan.

The farm lobby and its water carri-  
ers in Congress are long overdue for a  
smackdown. But sensible farm policies  
could still include goodies for farmers.  
For example, Obama should ditch the  
preposterous ban on subsidized farmers'  
growing healthy fruits and vegetables.  
He should expand purchases for the  
successful school-lunch program while  
shifting the menus away from fattening  
crud. And he can expand markets for  
farmers and other American exporters  
by ending the humiliatingly futile Cu-  
ban embargo, which has been forcing the  
Castros out of power for 46 years now.

## 5

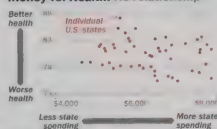
### A First Step on Health Care

OBAMA CAN DO A LOT TO PROMOTE  
clean energy in his first 100 days with-  
out picking a divisive fight to transform  
the petroleum industry; the same  
goes for health care. Before he tries to  
revolutionize the system, as President  
Clinton tried to his everlasting regret,  
Obama ought to consider a few less  
controversial steps in the right direc-  
tion. The obvious place to start is the  
children's health-insurance expansion  
that Bush vetoed twice last year. With  
medical errors now the eighth leading  
cause of death in the U.S., Obama should  
upgrade medical technology as part of  
his stimulus package; a VA hospital in  
Kansas cut its medication error rates  
70% after implementing wireless tech-  
nology and bar-coding. Obama could  
appeal to conservatives by doing more  
to protect doctors—especially obstetri-  
cians and emergency-room docs—from

lawsuits that make malpractice insur-  
ance unaffordable.

To address spiraling health-care  
costs—which will be 25% of GDP within  
two decades—Obama should create a  
Comparative Effectiveness Institute. As  
dull as that policy shop might sound, the  
Federal Government desperately needs  
unbiased research to figure out what's  
working. Congressional Budget Office  
head Peter Orszag has been passing  
around a Medicare graphic illustrating  
the relationship between the amount of  
spending and the quality of care by state;

#### Money vs. Health. No relationship



the point of his random assortment of  
dots is that there doesn't seem to be much  
of a relationship whatsoever. Before  
Obama risks his presidency to revamp  
health care, he ought to make sure he un-  
derstands what's wrong with it.

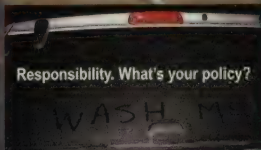
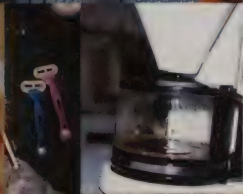
Of course, liberal Democrats will  
complain if he doesn't push universal  
health coverage and strict carbon limits  
right away. Congressional leaders of both  
parties will circle their wagons around  
their beloved highway, water and farm  
bills. Conservative Republicans will  
surely accuse him of Big Government  
socialism at home and weakness abroad.  
And the austerity scolds will fulminate  
about the ever expanding debt he'll  
dump on future generations. But Obama  
is going to be judged by his results, and  
it will be hard for him to make things  
worse. If the country is on the rebound in  
a couple of years, he'll gather even more  
political capital to start tightening fed-  
eral belts and digging out of debt.

Then he can start listening to the  
austerity scolds.





FOR ONE TUESDAY EACH NOVEMBER,  
THE CHORES, DUTIES,  
AND ERRANDS CAN ALL WAIT.  
BECAUSE DEMOCRACY CAN'T.



# The Once and Future Hillary

In an exclusive interview, the Senator discusses options beyond the White House

BY KAREN TUMULTY

**W**HAT BECOMES NOW OF Hillary Clinton? Will she run again for President? Make a bid for Senate majority leader? Go home to New York and run for governor? Does she covet a job in Barack Obama's Cabinet or maybe an appointment to the Supreme Court? No, no, no and no, come the answers. As she told me recently, "I'm going to be focused, as I always have been, on what we're going to get done. I'm not interested in just enhancing my visibility. I'm interested in standing on the South Lawn of the White House and seeing President Obama signing into law quality, affordable health care for everybody, and voting in a big majority for clean, renewable energy and smarter economic policies. That's what I'm all about, and I'm going to use every tool at my disposal to bring it about."

But it's hard to imagine Hillary Clinton ever playing just a supporting role. She is now both a smaller and a larger figure than when she set out on her first presidential-campaign swing through frigid Iowa nearly two years ago. And that puts her at something of a crossroads. "She's not who she was before she ran, when everyone deferred to her as a former First Lady and a President-in-waiting," says a prominent Democratic strategist. While she didn't achieve the Clinton Restoration, Hillary emerged from that race as the symbol of a movement that has come to represent the hopes and frustrations of millions of working-class Democrats.

Looking back on what she accomplished in the primaries, Clinton said, "I really felt like people were responding to my campaign in large measure because they feel invisible, that they have just been overlooked

and marginalized in ways that undermine their hopes for the future and their capacity to realize their own dreams." And, her advisers note, there is another constituency for whom there is no more obvious leader. Female voters, says a close ally, are an "awakened group of women who have no logical leader. It's hers for the asking."

Clinton put that star power to full use this fall, campaigning at more than 200 rallies and fund raisers for upwards of 80 candidates across the country. I caught

**'I'm going to be focused ... on what we're going to get done. I'm not interested in just enhancing my visibility.'**

up with her four days before the election, between stops in Ohio, where she was stumping for Obama in precincts that she won decisively during the Democratic primary. She also continued to work at the unfinished business left over from her presidential bid, starting with a \$25.2 million campaign debt. She has whittled it down to about \$2.6 million, depending on how you count. That figure does not include the \$13 million that she loaned the campaign out of personal funds and will not get back. Nor does it account for the \$5.2 million that she owes her former chief strategist Mark Penn—who is a flash point with some of her donors and whose bill, therefore, is not likely to be paid off anytime soon.

Friends and allies say Clinton is still trying to figure out what her role will be.

Though some imagine she can become a champion of liberal causes in the Senate, much as Edward Kennedy did after his defeat in the 1980 Democratic primary, that model may not fit. Kennedy by 1981 had nearly 20 years of seniority in the Senate, and he had an ideal foil in Ronald Reagan. Clinton, on the other hand, is a relatively junior Senator and ranks no higher than fifth in seniority on any of her committees. On Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, the panel that oversees the issue about which she has the most expertise and passion—health care—she ranks eighth. The chairman, Kennedy, has brain cancer but vows to play the lead role himself.

Clinton may be constrained from stepping out by the fact that her party is in power at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. Taking on her party in the manner that John McCain so often did in the early years of George W. Bush's first term is not, friends say, her way of doing business. "In retrospect, [McCain's] 2000-2002 persona was the result of personal pique, positioning himself as the Democrats' favorite Republican," says a Clinton adviser. "That's not the role she wants to play. That's the last thing she wants to do."

Meanwhile, her relationship with Obama is still a work in progress. Perhaps it would be best to describe it as a recovery in progress. Though Clinton's aides boast of the many campaign events she did on his behalf, "this is not a friendly relationship," says an ally. And yet a closer working relationship would be in the interests of both. Clinton knows from experience how much his health-care-reform effort will ride on having effective allies on Capitol Hill. And when his presidency hits its inevitable bumps—whether those come from disappointing his liberal allies or



enraging his conservative opponents—it would be handy to have a formidable spear catcher nearby.

She will continue to be a big draw on the fund-raising circuit—a good way to accumulate chits with other politicians—and can turn the spotlight that follows her everywhere as she chooses. And it surely means something that Clinton, whose steam-powered campaign was left in the dust technologically by Obama's, also seems to be studying up on the President-elect's playbook for turning a campaign into a movement. "The Internet has enhanced the leverage that any single mem-

**Moving on** Clinton returns to the Senate as a leader of women and the working class

ber of Congress has," Clinton said. "The voices and votes of millions of people, strategically placed around the country, are a great asset."

And her voice may be the most strategically important of all. Already it appears that Clinton may use her own experience in the White House to try to nudge Obama to keep his many promises. A larger-than-expected deficit forced her husband to delay some of his priorities in 1993, a decision that greatly upset Hillary Clinton

and her allies at the time. While there are already those who are arguing that Obama's ambitious and expensive health-care-reform effort will have to wait until the economy is in better shape, Clinton disagrees. "I'm going to make the case that it's important to move simultaneously on several fronts. I know how difficult that is. But a new President has a honeymoon period," she said. "I hope that we're going to really make progress on health care right off the bat with a new Congress. There are a lot of different ways of doing that." One campaign is over for Clinton, but another has just begun. ■

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**The warrior reflects** McCain fought hard and lost. What role will he play now?

★ ELECTION 2008

# Looking Past Defeat

A better man than his campaign, John McCain can now tap his old instinct for problem-solving. But it may take some time

BY JAMES CARNEY

**I**N EARLY 2007, JOHN MCCAIN SAT DOWN to breakfast at a back table in the Senate Dining Room with Ken Duberstein, Ronald Reagan's last White House chief of staff and one of the few big-name Republicans to have supported McCain rather than George W. Bush in 2000. It stood to reason that the fabled Washington wise man would back McCain again. Instead, Duberstein said he was troubled by McCain's efforts to ingratiate himself with the conservative wing of their party. He cited a fence-mending commencement address McCain had given at the Rev. Jerry Falwell's Liberty University and his hawkish stand on the war in Iraq.

"I told John the right wing never wants to be satisfied; they're professional whiners," Duberstein remembers now. "They are never happy. So don't kill yourself trying. They will never trust you, no matter what you do for them. John looked at me like I didn't understand. He said, 'Don't worry. People know who I am.'"

McCain can no longer make that claim. A politician who enjoyed a shiny reputation as a maverick with broad appeal has squandered it in the course of winning the nomination and then trying to hold together a Republican coalition that has been on life support for years. Because of

the brutish tone of his campaign and the generally spiteful mood inside the Republican Party, McCain faces a period of uncertain length in the wilderness, abandoned by former admirers on the right and the left. And so his latest test of character awaits: How does he overcome this defeat and retake his place as one of his party's best legislators?

He'd do well to consider how he got here. When he set out to run for President a second time, McCain and his top advisers decided they had to gamble with his most precious political asset: his brand. Team McCain was convinced that to capture the GOP nomination, its man had to prove himself a real Republican in every way. And so it made a bet: the McCain brand was so well established in the public's mind that he had plenty of latitude to woo suspicious conservatives without damaging his reputation as a straight-talking, independent maverick. Or so Team McCain believed. "Americans know John McCain," Mark Salter, the Senator's closest adviser, assured me back in the spring of 2007. "They know his record. They know he's not George Bush. That [charge] is just not gonna stick."

But stick it did, in part because McCain worked so hard initially to align himself with the White House. In order to win the GOP nomination, McCain embraced tax cuts he had once opposed, promised to appoint activist conservative jurists to the

Supreme Court to advance social causes he had never cared much about and boasted of his support for the agenda of a President he had once famously loathed. McCain played down the risk he was running. "I've already been accused of changing," McCain told me at the start of his campaign. "I haven't. I'm the same. Everything will be the same."

And yet McCain's swing to the right during the primaries still wasn't enough to win over many conservatives. That forced him to pursue a strategy during the general election that put galvanizing the Republican base ahead of inspiring centrist swing voters. By selecting as his running mate Sarah Palin, an inexperienced favorite of conservatives, over alternatives who would have appealed to independents,

a Karl Rove disciple, a purveyor of failed policies and a practitioner of stale politics. And a little frantic to boot.

Given the twin burdens he bore of a dimly unpopular incumbent Republican President and an already staggering economy that fell off a cliff in October, it is possible that McCain never had a chance. For all his cred as a maverick, McCain built that reputation on issues like tobacco, campaign finance, pork-barrel spending, immigration and torture, all of which were peripheral to the general-election debate. Meanwhile, on problems that worried voters most—the economy, health care, jobs—neither McCain's record in the past nor his proposals for the future were distinguishable from the standard Republican fare promoted by President Bush for the previous eight years.

argue that McCain's problem was not that he veered too far to the right but that he started off too close to the center. (Duberstein endorsed Obama four days before the election.)

As the campaign closed, a common fantasy among some of McCain's old associates went like this: the old bomber pilot would pull back on the stick before Election Day, right his wobbly plane and mount a clean push for victory. Instead, McCain just corkscrewed into the ground. And so it will be important to see what lessons McCain learns from his campaign and what role he plays as a member of a shrunken minority in Congress. Will he harbor bitter memories of his defeat and the poor treatment he feels he received from his old friends in the national media? Or will he revert to past form and become an accessible gadfly and bipartisan dealmaker?

After his loss to Bush in 2000, McCain became the go-to Republican for Democrats looking for a partner on a big piece of legislation. He joked about sleeping like a baby after losing (i.e., waking up and crying in the middle of the night), but he dealt with defeat and his new prominence by pouring his energy into his work on Capitol Hill. "I think you'll see a lot of straight talk from him right away," says veteran GOP consultant Scott Reed. "He'll be the first to criticize what he really didn't like about the campaign and its tactics."

Besides, at 72 and free from the yoke of a campaign, McCain doesn't have to worry about making anyone happy. He is not temperamentally suited to stasis; he would probably not find fulfillment in constantly blocking Democratic legislation as a member of the implacable opposition. He could, instead, follow his instinct for action and compromise by forging deals across the aisle—on energy, the environment, even health care and regulation of the financial markets. And he could prove a valuable source of insight on national-security matters for the new young Democrat in the White House, provided Obama is willing to listen.

"I think McCain's best years are ahead of him," says Mark McKinnon, who was McCain's chief adviser and a top adviser until June, when he dropped out of the campaign because he didn't want to participate in attacking Obama. "He'll put it all behind him quickly. He'll say the challenges the country faces are greater than any burden he carries from the campaign. And then he can help President Obama get important things done."

"If he does that," McKinnon says of McCain, "he'll put new meaning in the words 'country first.'"



**Split ticket** Some blame Palin for sinking McCain; others blame him for picking her

McCain not only missed a chance to win over those voters but also undermined his greatest advantage over Barack Obama—his deep record on national security. At a critical moment, McCain simply gave the experience card away.

Finally, the candidate who had promised a civil and elevated debate wound up waging a reckless, spaghetti-on-the-wall character assault—Obama's a vacuous celebrity! A dangerous naïf! A friend to terrorists! A closet socialist!—against an opponent whose preternatural poise made McCain's every charge seem desperate. He convinced himself that Obama was dishonorable and unqualified and was persuaded by his aides to believe that the only way to win was to make the Democrat seem unacceptable to voters. As a result, McCain reaped the worst of all worlds: voters saw McCain as both a Bush clone and

That McCain may have lost an unwinnable race won't stop Republicans or reporters from blaming him anyway. Much as Duberstein warned, some conservatives will try to toss McCain over the side, reminding us that he was never their choice, despite all he did to win their support. They will

**'I think McCain's best years are ahead of him. The challenges the country faces are greater than any burden he carries from the campaign.'**

—MARK MCKINNON, FORMER  
ADMAKER AND ADVISER FOR MCCAIN

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STUDER

# How Far Will She Go?

Sarah Palin became the election's most controversial and—for some—compelling figure. Why her next step could be the top of the 2012 ticket

BY NATHAN THORNBURGH



*The road ahead* Palin, at her lakeside home in Wasilla, may have to reinvent herself yet again to make another run for national office



OF ALL THE TORN SCRAPS OF conventional wisdom being swept up and thrown away after the election, here's one that may be the most discredited of all: Americans don't vote based on the vice-presidential nominee. From the moment Sarah Palin finished her incandescent speech at the Republican National Convention to the late-October New York

*Times*/CBS News poll in which a third of respondents said the choice of Vice President would have a "great deal of influence" on their vote, it was clear that Palin was a transformative figure. In short, she single-handedly changed the race—only not in the way John McCain's campaign had hoped.

In fact, she cost the GOP ticket more than she helped it. In that poll, 59% said they didn't think she was qualified to be Vice President—a view shared by many

**For a party that was never entirely comfortable with its nominee, Palin was the anti-McCain, popular in ways that he was not**



investigation and her emergence as a GOP leader have frayed relationships crucial to Palin's success. Her major accomplishments in Alaska—laying the groundwork for a natural-gas pipeline, reforming oil taxes—relied on support from Democratic lawmakers, who will now be less inclined to cross the aisle for her.

Alaska will also be staring down a budget crisis: crude oil slipped below \$60 a barrel just before the election, and Alaska's budget balances only if oil is in the mid-\$70 range or higher. The days of Palin's \$1,200 bonus check to every Alaskan may be over, and if her popularity at home suffers, so does her national profile.

Once her term ends, her options open up. She could try to capitalize on her fame with a cable TV show or, more likely, a lucrative speaking career. Matthew Jones, senior vice president of Leading Authorities Inc., a speakers bureau that represents top political figures like Trent Lott and Terry McAuliffe, says Palin could be a big hit if she were willing to work hard. "A paid speech is different than a campaign speech," he says. Corporations and groups would book her initially just because of who she is, says Jones, but to have staying power, she'd need a compelling speech, one building on her life story or talking about what it means to be an American. If Palin did apply herself, the rewards would be rich: Jones says she could make \$30,000 to \$45,000 for an hour-long keynote speech.

If Palin wants to stay in Alaska politics, however, there's only one good job other than governor: U.S. Senator. In 2010, Republican Lisa Murkowski will be up for re-election. Palin's broad popularity in Alaska (her approval rating at home is still in the 60s despite her turbulent autumn) wouldn't change the fact that Murkowski, whose approval rating was 63% in a March survey, would be a formidable opponent. "Palin would have a hard time winning" the GOP primary, says Gregg Erickson, editor at large for the *Alaska Budget Report*. Don Mitchell, a Democratic attorney and historian, calls Palin an instinctive politician whose talents rival Ronald Reagan's, and he thinks she could beat Murkowski—but he predicts that Palin would find the Senate a poor fit for her disposition. "She'd have to come in like Hillary Clinton, put her celebrity aside and work hard at getting respected," he says. "I can't see her doing that."

A seemingly better fit would be a run for President in 2012. Palin has the ambition for it: note her efforts to distance herself from the failing McCain campaign by criticizing the use of robocalls and the decision to pull out of Michigan and by saying that just packing her bags for Alaska after a defeat would make her efforts "for

naught." You'll know she is making presidential plans if she blames McCain for their loss and starts fund-raising and networking with conservatives across the country. Could she win? Palin has shown her ability to connect with the conservative base, and she knows how to inspire donors to write checks. The McCain campaign raised \$4.4 million in the first 12 hours after she debuted as his running mate, and by the end of that weekend, the total was \$10 million. (On the other hand, Obama also raised \$10 million in the 24 hours after Palin's convention speech.) For a party that never was entirely comfortable with its nominee, she was, in a sense, the anti-McCain—young, inexperienced, photogenic, ideological and popular in ways and in places that McCain was not.

The challenge would be to reach enough moderates and independents to win a general election. But Palin knows how to reposition herself. She started her career as a flame-throwing social conservative in Wasilla but pivoted artfully into the role of independent reformer in her run for governor. After speaking in highly partisan and sometimes regrettable terms about the "real America," she'd have to make a similar move to broaden her appeal again.

Imposing discipline on her sprawling army of supporters might be an even bigger challenge. Obama's efficient, competent, disciplined campaign set a new standard for a well-managed operation. Could Palin do the same? Probably not. One thing the Troopergate report revealed is that she surrounded herself in Alaska with a feckless mix of cronies and yes-men and ceded far too much power to her husband. She would have to be a much better manager and judge of talent than that.

Then, of course, there's the Katie Couric factor. Will Americans be able to forget the shell-shocked Palin of those early network interviews? This may be her greatest handicap: you know what they say about second chances at first impressions. But here too, it would be wrong to count her out. A friend of Track Palin, the governor's teenage son, once told me about having dinner at the Palins' house from time to time. He remembered seeing his buddy's mom watching the evening news and taking notes. This was before the klieg lights of the national campaign, before the halting interviews and the frenzied rallies. The image of Palin sitting in her home on Lake Lucille in Wasilla, scribbling notes to get smart on the news of the day, should be a warning to those who would discount Palin's future. She may have a lot to learn about the world, but she'll learn what she has to if that's what it takes to win.

WITH REPORTING BY MICHAEL SCHERER  
WASHINGTON ■

mandarins of the GOP. But the enthusiasm she briefly generated made gaming Palin's next move a popular sport. Will she join the big-money speaker's circuit? Become, as Tina Fey joked, the "white Oprah"? Run for Senate? Run for President in 2012 as the new face of a reinvented Republican Party?

First things first. She still has two years left as Alaska governor. And they could be difficult ones. Her aggressive posture toward the state legislature's Troopergate

# Cue the Circular Firing Squad

The massive defeat has sparked an angry blame game inside the GOP. Who will survive it?

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

THE REPUBLICAN BLOODBATH HAS BEGUN. Say goodbye to Colin Powell, who turned away from the party the Bush family helped build. Columnist Kathleen Parker has been drowning in hate mail since calling for Sarah Palin's head. Chris Buckley, the son of the late William F. Buckley Jr., went AWOL and lost his position at the *National Review*. Before the party can reclaim its soul, the unbelievers within must be cast out.

When removed from power by voters, no party keelhauls itself quite like the GOP. The party's success at capturing the White House is matched by a violent, burn-it-all-down mentality when it loses. Because John McCain's defeat seemed likely for weeks, the fighting began long before Election Day. Some Republicans believe that the old conservative message must be modernized. Others see a need to return to the conservatism of old. For many, Palin was a godsend, a true populist in the spirit of Ronald Reagan. For others, she was a nightmare. With no leader in

sight, factions are maneuvering behind the scenes to assign blame and take control. "It's not going to be business as usual," says Richard Viguerie, a 75-year-old direct-mail wizard who joined the conservative movement before becoming a foot soldier for Barry Goldwater. "There are going to be just some massive battles for the heart and soul of the Republican Party."

Economic conservatives like Grover Norquist, who hate government and taxes above all, see a return to first principles as the solution. "Bush deviated from the Reagan Republican vision in spending, regulation and in empire," he says, before delivering a backhanded slight to McCain: "We know that when you run as Reagan, it works." Norquist's rebel army is backed by power gabbers of right-wing talk like Rush Limbaugh and Sean Hannity. They blame the Republican catastrophes of 2006 and 2008 on a party that abandoned its values. The party, not its ideology, failed, goes their mantra. It therefore stands to reason that Republicans must return to their core tax-

cutting, low-spending ideology, or else die. "The party had better be what the party is, or I don't have any future in it," Limbaugh tells his audience, which often numbers nearly 20 million weekly.

Others think differently. "We are going to have a back-to-basics urge, and that is going to be exactly the wrong thing," says David Frum, who works at the American Enterprise Institute, one of several brain trusts of conservative thought. "The Reagan chapter is a finished chapter." To Frum's thinking, the issues that built the Reagan coalition—crime, welfare, taxes and the Cold War—have faded. Better now to draft policies that address the new concerns of the middle class: economic stagnation, environmental protection and health-care reform. "It's pretty hard to go back to the old Republican arguments," says Frank Fahrenkopf Jr., who chaired the Republican Party for most of the 1980s. "The American people are looking for change that works."

Meanwhile, out in the states, Republican governors blame the folks at the top of the party for destroying the GOP brand through their ineptitude and graft. There is concern that Democrats not only have a better sales pitch but also are using better technology to attract money and turn out voters. "After 2006," says South Carolina governor Mark Sanford, "we put the same leadership back in place. It's just insane. In the corporate world, you would not do that." If Republicans claim to be the reform party of small government, Sanford says, they must first stop seeing their appropriators convicted of felonies. "You have a lot of members of Congress who are not upholding what this brand is about."

Short of ideas, running low on cash, Republicans are in need of new leaders. South Carolina party chair Katon Dawson, a probable candidate for the national chairmanship, will be hosting a meeting of state leaders in Myrtle Beach later this month. Republican governors, a group that includes such potential 2012 presidential candidates as Sanford, Utah's Jon Huntsman Jr. and Louisiana's Bobby Jindal, plan to meet in Florida. Social conservatives, a faction that Mike Huckabee is positioning himself to lead, were scheduled to caucus in Virginia. No one is quite sure yet whether Palin will become the darling of one of these armies—or simply the new Dan Quayle. Luckily for Republicans, the Democrats will still be around to unite them eventually. "We'll see what fights the left wants to pick," explains Newt Gingrich, the former Speaker of the House, who has been rolling out new policy ideas. "I think 2010 will be a great year."

## New Blood? Who will step forward to lead the GOP out of the wilderness?

**Sarah Palin** Few in the party have her name recognition, although some see her as just another Dan Quayle



**Newt Gingrich**  
Nothing if not a font of ideas, the former House Speaker may run in 2012



**Bobby Jindal**  
Louisiana's governor, a Catholic convert, has excited social conservatives



**Eric Cantor**  
The Virginia lawmaker and GOP fund raiser was an early bailout critic



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10

# Elections That Changed America

Sure, the outcome is remarkable. But how will the '08 campaign hold up to history? Can any President shape a country like Lincoln? Save the U.S. like F.D.R.? From Washington to (surprise?) McKinley to Bush 43, these winners left an indelible legacy

BY JACKSON DYKMAN AND SEAN GREGORY

1789  
WASHINGTON

1792  
WASHINGTON

1796  
J. ADAMS

1800  
JEFFERSON

1804  
JEFFERSON

1808  
MADISON

1812  
MADISON

1816  
MONROE

1820  
MONROE

1824  
J.O. ADAMS

1828  
JACKSON

In early elections, states used various methods to choose presidential electors. In many states that used a popular vote, no records were kept before the election of 1824

Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr—both from the same party—tied in electoral votes, throwing the election to the House of Representatives

Winner's percentage of popular vote

Electoral votes needed to win

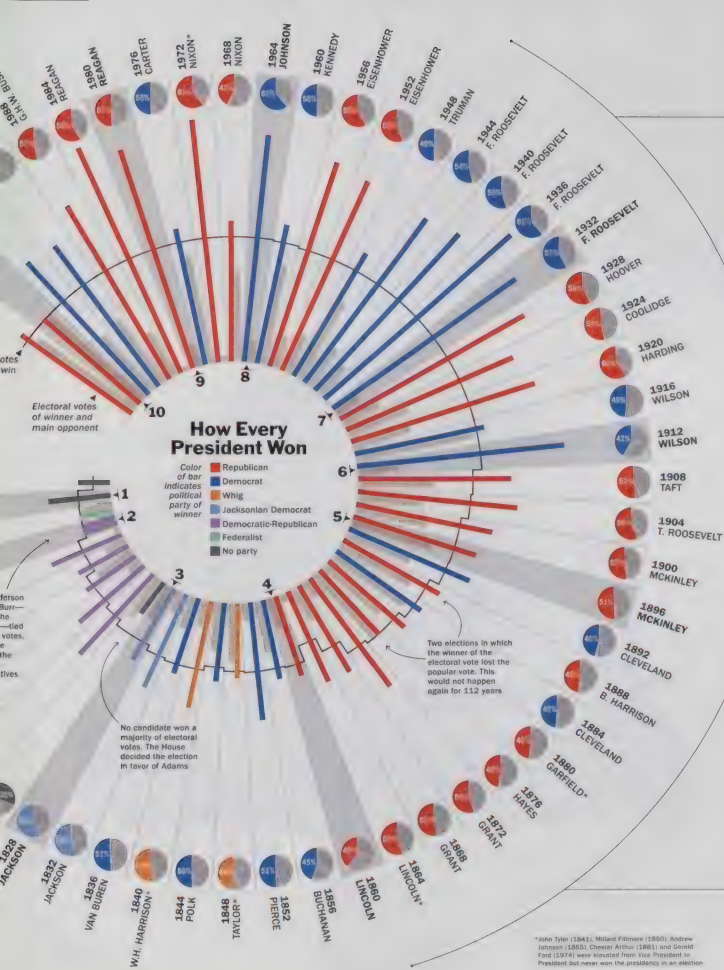
Elect of w  
mai

Color of bar indicates political party of winner

- Republican
- Democrat
- Whig
- Jacksonian Democrat
- Democratic-Republican
- Federalist
- No party

Color of bar indicates political party of winner

- Republican
- Democrat
- Whig
- Jacksonian Democrat
- Democratic-Republican
- Federalist
- No party



\* John Tyler (1841), Millard Fillmore (1850), Andrew Johnson (1865), Chester Arthur (1881) and Gerald Ford (1974) were elevated from Vice President to President but never won the presidency in an election.



1792

## Molding a Presidency

**George Washington, unopposed, is re-elected**

Washington ran unchallenged, but his win established the principle of regular elections. "It was not clear, following the American Revolution and Articles of Confederation, that the presidency would work," says Rutgers University historian David Greenberg. "Washington—and his re-election—showed that it did." The pro-business Federalists began sparring with the agrarian, states' rights Jeffersonians—a two-party preview. So the nation needed a unifying figure to guide it in its formative years. "North and South will hang together," Jefferson told Washington, "if they have you to hang on."



1800

## Power Shift

**Thomas Jefferson unseats John Adams**

For the first time, U.S. presidential power switched hands from one political party to another, and the republic not only survived but thrived. The campaigns of President Adams, a Federalist, and Democrat-Republican Jefferson, the sitting Vice President and a states' rights advocate, introduced vitriol to presidential politics. But at his Inaugural, Jefferson set a precedent for postelection unity by famously declaring "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists." Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase doubled America's landmass, giving the country a glimpse of the Manifest Destiny to come.



1828

## The Birth of Populism

**Beat the élite! Andrew Jackson over John Quincy Adams**

In a rematch of the 1824 election, Jackson's convincing win over President Adams broke the grip that the Massachusetts and Virginia leaders of the early republic had on the presidency. This campaign was negative long before attack ads came into vogue. The Tennessee's supporters called Adams a pimp, while the propriety of Jackson's marriage was questioned. "Jackson was the first President to style himself a man of the people," says Greenberg. "Old Hickory" expanded the frontier and the power of the presidency and gave jobs to loyal backers. White House patronage has been in style ever since.



1912

## Split Decision

**Woodrow Wilson bests Taft and Teddy Roosevelt**

The scholarly and cerebral Wilson, ex-president of Princeton University, benefited greatly from a split in the Republican Party. Former President Roosevelt ran as a Progressive, taking votes from Republican incumbent President William Howard Taft. Democrat Wilson won with just 42% of the popular vote. Though more understated than T.R. (who wasn't?), Wilson also took a big-stick approach, using it to rein in Big Business. He helped create the Federal Trade Commission and signed the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, both of which gave regulators authority to limit the power of large corporations.



1932

## A New Deal Dawns

**F.D.R. defeats Hoover and tackles economic disaster**

In the most important election of the 20th century, Franklin Roosevelt's landslide win over President Herbert Hoover repudiated the prevailing conservative economic policies and set the stage for the New Deal initiatives that would start to lift the country out of the Great Depression. An alphabet soup of new agencies, including the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), boosted employment. Roosevelt's fireside chats—go ahead, call it spin—showcased his leadership and popularity. They would be sorely needed. The four-term President was vital to the Allied victory in World War II.



**Dust Bowl** The New Deal offered some relief to stricken farmers but not before thousands lost everything



**Last full measure** As the Civil War's toll mounted, blacks were finally allowed to fight for freedom. About 40,000 died



1860

## Fury, Then Freedom

**Abraham Lincoln takes a crowded race, sparking war**

The 1860 campaign altered America more than any other election in the nation's history. The new antislavery Republican Party nominated Lincoln, who benefited from a fractured opposition. Proslavery Democrats nominated incumbent Vice President John C. Breckinridge, a Kentuckian, while Northern Democrats ran with Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas. Lincoln won the White House with just 40% of the popular tally and didn't score a single Southern state. By February 1861, the Confederate States of America had penned a constitution. Bloodshed—and emancipation—would follow.



1896

## A Business Party

**William McKinley vs. William Jennings Bryan**

Stark differences in economic philosophy defined the 1896 campaign. Ohio governor McKinley built a coalition of Eastern business patrons to push hard for the gold standard. Bryan, a fiery populist, sought looser money, which would have inflated prices for farmers struggling in a depressed economy. "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold," Bryan famously declared. Bryan hit the rails to press his case cross-country; McKinley drew pilgrimages to Ohio. Presidential historian Richard Norton Smith says McKinley's win "confirmed the conservative nature of the American republic."



1964

## The Great Society

**Lyndon Johnson bounces Barry Goldwater**

During the campaign, Johnson called for a Great Society, in which the Federal Government would curtail poverty, racial injustice and other ills. Republicans nominated a staunch foe of this so-called social engineering, Arizona Senator Goldwater, to oppose the President. L.B.J. claimed 61% of the popular vote. He helped create Medicare for the elderly and Medicaid for the poor. The War on Poverty sparked dozens of new programs. Despite his legislative milestones, including passage of the Voting Rights Act, Johnson's legacy is tied to the U.S. quagmire in Vietnam—which spurred the antiwar movement that followed.



1980

## A Conservative Epoch

**An inspiring Ronald Reagan outshines Jimmy Carter**

In 1980 rampant inflation, rising unemployment and the Iranian hostage crisis crushed America's confidence. So voters chose Reagan to transform the country into a "shining city on a hill." Reagan moved the U.S. to the right—a lasting legacy. The Great Communicator lowered taxes, shrank the welfare state and raised defense spending. The economy grew, inflation slowed, and the deficit ballooned. After heating up the Cold War by calling the Soviet Union an "evil empire," Reagan engaged Mikhail Gorbachev, presaging the end of the standoff. His lasting words: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!"



2000

## The Court Decides It

**George W. Bush, Al Gore and the epic election**

The vote-count drama alone was historic: the Florida fiasco gripped the public for more than a month and forced the Supreme Court to declare, 5 to 4, Bush the winner. That decision altered the course of history. Bush's reaction to 9/11 led the U.S. into wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The costs of those conflicts, his Administration's inept response to the Hurricane Katrina disaster and—in his final months in office—the financial crisis and unprecedented nationalization of the U.S. banking system may send Bush out of the White House with distinction: having the lowest measured approval rating of any modern President.



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**The charismatic youngsters** Kennedy was only 43 and Clinton 46 when they won the White House. Both promised transformative change, but their presidencies were defined by their outsize personalities

★ ELECTION 2008

# Do Rookies Make Good Presidents?

Obama joins a long list of relative political newbies who have won the nation's highest office. Here's what he can learn from all of them

BY BEVERLY GAGE

**F**OR 10 EXHAUSTING MONTHS, AMERICANS worried that Barack Obama might be too inexperienced to serve as President. On Nov. 4, a majority of voters decided that he is in fact "ready to lead"—or at least that he had better be. This suggests that Americans know their history. When it comes to presidential success,

experience isn't all it's cracked up to be.

Given the recent Sturm und Drang over the experience question, one might imagine that American Presidents have mostly followed the Johnson/Nixon model, clawing their way from House to Senate to the vice presidency before landing in the Oval Office. In truth, American presidential

politics has often been a rookie's game. Some presidential newcomers have hit the ball out of the park, delivering moments of true political greatness. (Think Abraham Lincoln.) Others have offered up inning after inning of rookie mistakes.

As a group, White House rookies tend to fall into three categories. First come the military heroes—Zachary Taylor, Ulysses Grant, Dwight Eisenhower—who ventured a leap into electoral politics only to produce lackluster administrations. (The great exception is George Washington, whose success in office remains uncontested but whose "rookie" status could hardly be helped.)

Next come the technocrats like William Howard Taft and Herbert Hoover, who both arrived with long résumés of appointed posts but virtually no electoral experience. This category might also include Jimmy Carter, who despite several years in the Georgia legislature and governor's office maintained an essentially bureaucratic outlook toward White House affairs. All three proved wanting as popular leaders, unable to rally mass support for their programs. All three were limited to a single term.



**The progressives** Like Wilson, Obama puts his faith in transparency and voluntarism rather than in special-interest-group wrangling

In the last category are the charismatic youngsters: 42-year-old Teddy Roosevelt, 43-year-old John F. Kennedy, 46-year-old Bill Clinton. Of our many presidential rookies, they have been among the most ambitious, championing transformative programs for national change. They have also marked the presidency with their outsize personal traits: Roosevelt's masculine bluster, Kennedy's legendary charm, Clinton's much-discussed indiscretions.

At 47 years old, devoid of military or appointed-office experience, Obama seems to fall most easily into the last of these categories. But it's not a perfect fit. For one thing, Obama seems to have far more self-control than Roosevelt, Kennedy and Clinton. He also has less high-level political experience. Kennedy had already served 14 years in Washington (six as a Congressman, eight as a Senator) before ascending to Camelot. Obama, as pre-Palin Republicans once enjoyed pointing out, has yet to complete his first Senate term.

Obama prefers the towering example of Lincoln, one of the least experienced

men ever to assume the presidency. Before entering the White House, Lincoln had spent just a handful of years in the Illinois state legislature and a single term in Congress. Many commentators have noted the parallels between Lincoln and Obama: the Illinois roots, the penchant for inspiring oratory, the historic nature of both candidacies. (Lest the connection be overlooked, Obama launched his presidential campaign in Springfield, Ill., Lincoln's hometown.) We could do worse than to have Obama follow Lincoln's path, knitting together a fractured country, raising our sights from the mundane to the sublime. Still, it's hard to draw a direct comparison between the two. Pundits may like to say our country has "never" been as divided as it is in 2008. But Obama isn't confronting a Civil War.

A more exacting model for Obama may be the rookie Democrat Woodrow Wilson, who logged a scant two years as governor of New Jersey (his first go at elective office) before making his bid for the White House in 1912. Like Obama, Wilson had spent his adult life immersed in university politics. Wilson's essays on American history feature the voice of a professor, not a machine candidate. Obama is himself something of a Wilsonian progressive, a man who puts his faith in transparency and voluntarism rather than New Deal-style interest-group wrangling. He also maintains some of Wilson's reserved and intellectual approach to managing the national welfare.

These traits served Wilson well. His first term saw the passage of groundbreak-

ing measures (including the creation of the Federal Reserve) designed to stabilize and equalize a volatile national economy. Indeed, Wilson faced a country whose rage over Wall Street corruption and plutocratic greed makes current class-based grumbling look decidedly mild. Wilson managed to survive the political storm and win re-election by forging a judicious path between laissez-faire and socialism. What's more, he did it in an era when "socialism" was a genuine grass-roots movement rather than an empty political charge.

Ultimately, the First World War put an end to Wilson's progressive juggernaut; he won the war only to lose the peace. Fortunately, Obama seems unlikely to run aground in quite the same way. While Wilson proved too rigid to negotiate effectively with a postwar Republican Congress, Obama has already made a point of advertising his bipartisan intentions, and his skills at persuasion can hardly be overestimated.

Obama's greatest talent may lie precisely in his ability to be many things to many constituents: a bit of Lincoln, a dash of Wilson, a touch of Roosevelt and Kennedy and Clinton too. In that sense, no single example can tell us much about how he will ultimately lead. Like the many rookies before him, President Obama will write his own chapter of American history. ■

*Gage is the author of The Day Wall Street Exploded: A Story of America in Its First Age of Terror, due in February. She teaches U.S. history at Yale University*

**Obama's greatest talent may lie in being a bit of Lincoln, a dash of Wilson, a touch of Roosevelt, Kennedy and Clinton**

"If I am not for myself,  
who will be for me?"

If I am only for myself, what am I?  
And if not now, when?"

—Hillel, First Century BCE

# IF NOT NOW, WHEN?

"It's a privilege to call him  
a friend and an honor  
to recommend this  
remarkable life story."  
—Tom Brokaw

Duty and  
Sacrifice  
in America's  
Time of  
Need



Colonel Jack Jacobs (Ret.) and Douglas Century

Foreword by Brian Williams,  
Managing Editor and Anchor of NBC's *Nightly News*

One of the few living recipients of the award, Col. Jack Jacobs was presented the Medal of Honor for his battlefield heroics. But his story transcends this single act of bravery and reveals an exceptional man in both war and peace.

"IT'S A PRIVILEGE to call [Col. Jack Jacobs] a friend and an honor to recommend this remarkable life story."

—TOM BROKAW

"A story about selflessness, sacrifice and service, and it collides loudly and rather violently with much of our current culture."

—BRIAN WILLIAMS

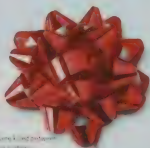
"JACOBS TAKES AN HONEST—and often brutally funny—look back at his own life and forward to the future of the military and the nation."

—Parade magazine



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# Let's not make this a holiday season to remember.



## Parent-Teen Driving Contract

### SPEEDING AND TICKETS

According to recent study, speeding-related crashes accounted for 44% of traffic deaths in 2005.

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TEEN DRIVER

### CRASHES

Seventeen-year-old drivers have crash rates that are 10 times greater than 17-year-old drivers and five times greater than 19-year-old drivers.

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### DRINKING AND DRIVING

In 2005, drunk driving caused one of every four fatal teen crashes.

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TEEN DRIVER

### CELL PHONES, MUSIC, OTHER DISTRACTIONS

Talking on a cell phone while driving gives you the reaction time of a 10-year-old.

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### TIME OF DAY

More than 50% of fatal crashes occur between 3 p.m. and midnight. Check your teen's teen driving habits.

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### NUMBER OF PASSENGERS

According to recent study, the presence of just one more passenger increases the chance of a fatal crash.

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### SEATBELTS

Using a seat belt should reduce the risk of fatal crash accidents by 45%.

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TEEN DRIVER

### GRADES

Good grades are a sign of a teen's ability to handle responsibility. Good grades are a sign of a teen's ability to handle responsibility.

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TEEN DRIVER

### TEEN DRIVER

I promise to abide by the contract outlined above. If I break any part of this contract, I will accept the consequences. During any time that I am not driving, I will be responsible for making other arrangements to get around.

### PARENT/GUARDIAN

I promise to do what I can to help my teenager succeed in following this contract. I promise to make time to help my child become a safe and responsible driver. I understand this is an evolving contract and promise to make myself available to discuss these rules and their consequences when necessary.

Go to an Allstate Agent or to [www.allstate.com/teen](http://www.allstate.com/teen) for an interactive contract you can save, print and update.



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Every December, on average, almost 500 teenage drivers are killed in car crashes. Simply talking to your teen can help lower their risk of having an accident this holiday season. The Allstate Parent-Teen Driving

Contract can help start the conversation. Go to an Allstate Agent or to [allstate.com/teen](http://allstate.com/teen) for a free interactive contract you can save, print and update. **Give your teen the greatest gift of the season.**

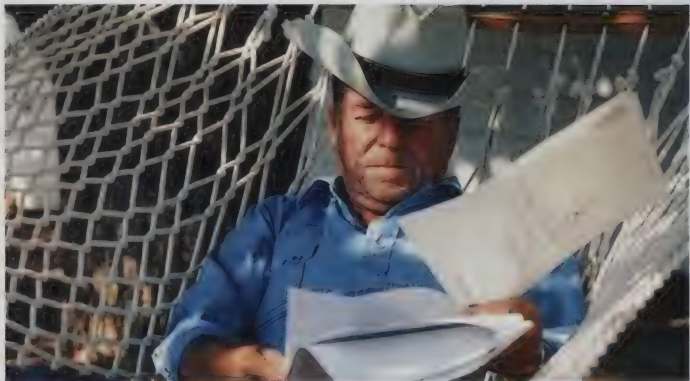
It's time to make the world a safer place to drive. That's Allstate's Stand.



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You're in good hands.

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Home  
Life  
Retirement

Source: "Allstate America's Teen Driving Hotspots" 2008 study. The Cupped Hands logo is a registered service mark and "That's Allstate's Stand" is a service mark of Allstate Insurance Company. © 2008 Allstate Insurance Company, Northbrook, IL.



**Reagan's way** The former President reading papers at his California ranch. His economic and social policies dominated for more than a quarter century

★ **ELECTION 2008**

# The End of the Reagan Era

He stood for small government. Why the Age of the Gipper ends with Obama's election

BY RICHARD NORTON SMITH

**H**ERE'S A SHOUT-OUT TO ANDREW JACKSON, Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan. You won't find them on Mount Rushmore, yet each of these Presidents can lay claim to a status that transcends stone portraiture or academic canonization. For each has stamped his name and, more important, his ideas, personality and values on a defining chapter of the American story. How do you get an age named after you? Simply put, by shattering the existing political consensus and replacing it with one of your own making,

*A historian and biographer who has headed five presidential libraries, Smith is now scholar-in-residence at George Mason University*

one whose influence is felt long after your time in office.

The Age of Jackson spanned four tumultuous decades, from the 1820s to the Civil War (during which Lincoln, though of the opposing party, did not hesitate to cite his predecessor's robust nationalism in order to justify his own Constitution-stretching). The man adversaries dubbed King Andrew I converted the early republic, governed by the well bred and well read, into an embryonic democracy. In making war on the Second Bank of the United States, the entrenched money power of his day, the choleric old soldier joyously invented the politics of Us—factory workers, white farmers, land-hungry frontiersmen—vs. Them—the

commercial and intellectual elite, blacks, both free and enslaved, and Native Americans, whose road out of Jacksonian America turned into the Trail of Tears.

In the 1930s, Franklin D. Roosevelt promised Depression-weary Americans a New Deal. In practical terms, this meant rescuing democratic capitalism from its own unregulated excesses. Along the way, Roosevelt transformed the relationship between the average citizen and his government. The welfare state he fashioned in place of classic laissez-faire was largely improvised. Yet much of it—Social Security, the Tennessee Valley Authority, federally subsidized agriculture, stock market oversight, for starters—has long since been woven into the fabric of American life. Politically, too, F.D.R. shuffled the deck, luring black voters out of the party of Lincoln, even while placating lily-white Southern Democrats. A self-proclaimed "preacher President," Roosevelt raised a stricken nation's spirits through his unquenchable optimism and masterly use of the bully pulpit invented by his distant relative and role model Theodore Roosevelt.

In Dixon, Ill., Jack Reagan's son Ron listened spellbound to F.D.R.'s honey-on-toast baritone as it came out of the radio. Four times the future Great Communicator cast a vote for Roosevelt, whose consolidation of power in Washington the adult Reagan would set out to reverse. The Age of Reagan didn't begin on Jan. 20, 1981, when he famously declared, "Government is not the

solution to our problem; government is the problem." Its roots run much deeper—to 1966 at least. Two years after Barry Goldwater pronounced an end to Eisenhower-style moderation, two years before Richard Nixon appropriated Roosevelt's forgotten man as precursor to his Silent Majority, Reagan the citizen politician found himself leading a federation of the fed-up.

His election that year as governor of California mirrored a broader repudiation of urban riots and campus turmoil; of perceived moral decay, the long reach of the tax collector and a liberal consensus stretched to the breaking point by Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. In 1980 an electorate similarly radicalized by double-digit inflation, crippling interest rates and the humiliating spectacle of 52 Americans held hostage by Iranian

shadowed, paradoxically, the most sweeping arms reductions of the nuclear era. The ensuing political realignment was measured less in voter-registration rolls than in a pervasive skepticism about the state. Because there were many things government did badly, it came to be assumed, there was virtually nothing it did well. Long after his return to California in 1989, Reagan's anti-Washington consensus continued to exercise a powerful restraint on his successors. Even the notably activist Bill Clinton was driven to acknowledge an end to the era of Big Government.

Nothing so visibly riled the last Democratic President as Obama's description of Reagan earlier this year as a transformative leader. More recently the same phrase has been applied to Obama by General Colin

their fractious family except love of country and loyalty to the past.

Certainly the campaign they ran this fall was anything but Reaganesque. One wonders what Reagan the onetime movie star would make of a campaign that made an epithet out of *celebrity*. More than tactics, ideas mattered to Reagan. He was the proverbial conviction politician, and his midlife conversion from New Deal liberal to Goldwater conservative owed more to Friedrich von Hayek than Joe the Plumber—the latter a perfect symbol of a party running on intellectual fumes. While Reagan thought in decades, if not centuries, his political heirs define success as owning the news cycle. Thus Halloween came early this year, as GOP operatives lurched from Ayers to ACORN to questioning their opponents' patriotism



**The populist**  
Jackson, a war hero, snatched power from the elite and spread it to farmers, laborers and the common man

THE ERA OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY  
1820s to the Civil War: a voice for frontiersmen



**Defeating Depression**  
F.D.R. created federal jobs and retirement security, changing our relationship with government

F.D.R. AND THE NEW DEAL  
1930s to mid-'60s: Washington as interventionist



**Supply sider**  
Reagan rejected Big Government and cut taxes. And he pursued economic deregulation—to a fault

THE REAGAN REVOLUTION  
1966 to 2006: a conservative revival

kidnappers would award the old Hollywood player what Reagan biographer Lou Cannon calls the role of a lifetime.

Thirty years before Barack Obama, Reagan offered hope and change to a nation sick of the status quo. As with F.D.R. in 1933, the new President's most pressing task was to dispel gathering fears that the U.S. might be entering a period of irreversible decline. Ironically, nothing so impressed voters as the grit and humor he displayed after being shot by a would-be assassin. Reagan practiced coalition government, though in his case it meant melding the cultural conservatism that had made him governor with the economic conservatism that had propelled him into the Oval Office. Populists and pinstripes—Reagan spoke to, and for, both. His governing majority included Wall Street titans and NASCAR fans, right-to-lifers and leave-me-alone libertarians, Jeane Kirkpatrick neocons and xenophobes channeling Father Coughlin through his lineal descendants on toxic talk radio.

Reagan preferred laughing at his adversaries to demonizing them. He disarmed critics of his relaxed administrative style by acknowledging that the right hand of his Administration didn't always know what its far-right hand was up to. As the laughter crested, so did the tax-cutting, the regulatory rollback and the military buildup that fore-

Powell, himself a prominent alumnus of the Reagan White House. Inevitably the prospect of an Obama presidency has led observers to ask, Is the Age of Reagan over? In the wake of Wall Street's collapse, Reagan's vaunted "magic of the marketplace" has come in for heavy criticism. Did the deregulatory pendulum swing too far? Have Americans glorified individual success at the expense of shared purpose? And what of the visionary who could imagine a Strategic Defense Initiative to trump the existing arms race but who couldn't, or wouldn't, conceive of an alternative to cheap fossil fuels?

The very debate is a tribute of sorts. (Stop and think: When was the last time you heard anyone arguing Franklin Pierce's legacy?) Moreover, if you doubt Reagan's continuing influence, look no further than the dueling tax cuts offered by Obama and John McCain to a populace awash in red ink. That said, no President is immune to the law of unintended consequences. By decoupling conservatism in the 1980s from fiscal responsibility, he unwittingly sanctioned future deficits and helped usher in a consumerist society gaudily living beyond its means. The result: credit-card conservatism. Deprived of their green eyeshades, the Cold War and the Soviet Union, Reagan's ideological children have little to unify

and flinging allegations of socialism. The last claim in particular rang hollow coming from one who voted to recapitalize Wall Street and partly nationalize the banking system with \$700 billion in taxpayer funds.

A base campaign indeed. McCain is a better man than his robocalls. Yet he became enmeshed in the red-state-vs.-blue state, hot button, wedge-issue, 50%-plus-one formula that has dominated and degraded our politics in these locust years of racial, regional and cultural polarization. Reagan at his best was a happy warrior, who put a smile on the sometimes dour face of conservatism and recast his political faith as both optimistic and futuristic. He was no hater, and cultural scapegoating wasn't his style. Indeed, in 1978 Reagan courageously opposed a California referendum that would have made it easier for gay schoolteachers simply on account of their sexual orientation.

Conservatives wishing to honor their modern founding father might begin by practicing what Reagan preached in his valedictory address to the 1992 GOP Convention in Houston. "Whatever else history may say about me when I'm gone," he told us, "I hope it will record that I appealed to your best hopes, not your worst fears, to your confidence rather than your doubts." Some things are ageless. ■

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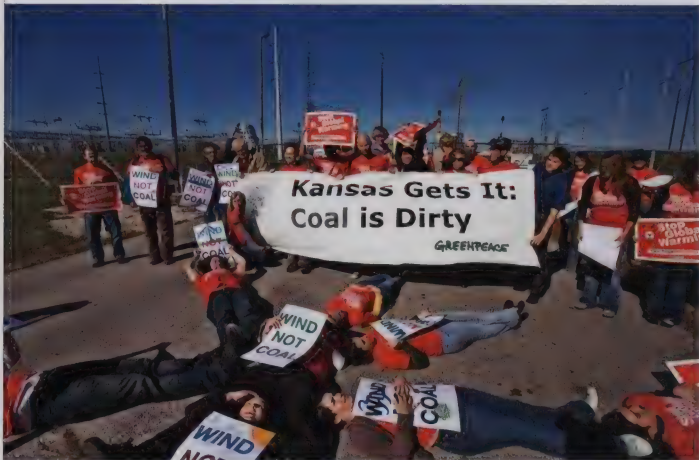
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# Life

The free karaoke site uses a Simon Cowellesque algorithm to score your performance

USER'S GUIDE, PAGE 112

GOING GREEN ■ FOOD ■ USER'S GUIDE ■ RIGHT ON YOUR MONEY



## GOING GREEN

### Taking On King Coal.

Activists turn to civil disobedience to thwart new power plants

BY BRYAN WALSH

NOTHING COULD SWAY THE Dominion 11 from their mission—not the cops and certainly not the prospect of free food. Early on the morning of Sept. 15, activists from a range of environmental groups formed a human barrier to block access to a coal plant being built by Dominion in rural Wise County, Virginia. As

acts of civil disobedience go, this wasn't exactly Bloody Sunday. The police took a hands-off approach and even offered to buy the protesters breakfast if they unchained themselves. (They declined.) But the consequences were far from trivial. The activists who had formed the barrier to the construction site were arrested and charged with trespassing, and they eventually paid \$400 each in fines.

**People power** Environmentalists protest a Kansas plant, the 12th biggest coal polluter in the U.S.

That's nothing, of course, compared with the punishment the Dominion plant will inflict on the environment. If completed, the plant will emit 5.3 million tons of CO<sub>2</sub> a year into the atmosphere, roughly the equivalent of putting a



## BY THE NUMBERS

49%

Percentage of electricity in the U.S. generated by coal

110

Number of new coal plants in development in the U.S., in addition to some 600 existing plants

0

Number of full-scale coal plants in the world that can capture the carbon they emit

million more cars on the road.

The future of coal will dictate the future of the climate. Plants in the U.S. that burn this low-cost, high-carbon fuel account for about 49% of the country's greenhouse-gas emissions, not to mention other air pollutants. Right now there are about 600 coal power plants in the U.S., and an additional 110 are in various stages of development. Without ways to capture the carbon burned in coal and sequester it underground, new plants all but guarantee billions of tons of future carbon emissions and essentially negate efforts to reduce global warming. "Business as usual can't continue as long as coal is destroying the climate," says Hannah Morgan, 20, one of the Dominion 11. "We are not going to back down."

Environmentalists are fighting new plants with every weapon in their arsenal, from launching lawsuits over CO<sub>2</sub> regulations to lobbying financiers to stop investing in coal. Governors in states like Kansas and Florida are blocking new plants. But to some greens, the threat of new coal plants coming online is so dire that it demands a more corporeal level of engagement. This fall, at the annual meeting of the Clinton

Global Initiative in New York City, Al Gore announced, "I believe we've reached the stage where it's time for civil disobedience to prevent the construction of new coal-fired power plants that do not have sequestration."

Hard-core activists like Morgan have already heeded Gore's call. Many work in groups like the Rainforest Action Network (motto: "Environmentalism with teeth") and Rising Tide. But this isn't just the work of coastal elites; on Oct. 26, dozens of locals in Kansas picketed the massive Lawrence Energy Center, the 12th most polluting coal plant in the U.S. Similar protests pop up anywhere a new plant is being built.

"People are willing to put their reputations and their livelihoods and physical well-being on the line for the climate," says Scott Parkin, an organizer for the Rainforest Action Network who has been involved in the Dominion campaign in Virginia. The September protest in Wise County was just the latest in a string of nonviolent acts against Dominion's new coal plant, including a blockade of the company's Richmond headquarters in June.

The coal industry counters


**Next generation** Activists don't want more coal plants, like this one near a Pennsylvania playground

that the sheer rise in demand for electricity—projected to increase 30% by 2030, according to the federal Energy Information Agency—means a new generation of coal plants is inevitable. Dominion executives point out that Virginia has a projected shortfall in electricity supply and that the Wise County plant is needed to close that gap.

Coal remains cheap and plentiful in the U.S. (as long as no price is put on carbon emissions), and its supporters argue that "clean coal" will solve the pollution problem. But it's not clear what they mean. "Clean coal" can refer to new technologies that remove pollutants like soot and sulfur dioxide from the waste process, or it can mean capturing and sequestering the carbon burned in coal. The former exists—the Dominion plant is a good example—but the latter does not. And a new report by the International Energy Agency noted that research for sequestration projects remains badly underfunded. "Clean coal is like healthy cigarettes," Gore said. "It does not exist."

For many green activists, climate change is fundamentally a moral issue. To accept a new generation of polluting coal plants is to doom future generations to an impoverished planet. So the response should be fundamentally moral as well, using the same tactics—civil disobedience, nonviolent protest—as those of the civil rights movement.

Technology and economics alone won't solve the climate crisis. Moral suasion of the sort exemplified by frontline activism is needed too, as Gore noted. "It'd be more powerful if he put his body where his mouth is," says Abigail Singer, a Rising Tide activist. In other words, there will always be room on the human chain for you, Al. ■



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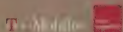
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An ice-cold beer sure sounds nice, but it doesn't taste as great as one that is slightly warmer. For maximum taste, beer should be drunk at what is known as British cellar temperature, or about 55° F. For more tidbits that will make you think again and for a chance to win a trip for two or a T-Mobile G1, visit [think-thinkagain.com](http://think-thinkagain.com).



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## FOOD

# The Ultra-Lean Grocer.

Buh-bye, Kellogg's Corn Flakes. Cheapskates are flocking to Aldi's no-name products



Deep discounter Aldi stores, like this one in Geneva, Ill., carry only staples like cereal



### COST CUTTER

How Aldi manages to undercut the competition:

#### FEWER PRODUCTS

The discount chain focuses on staples, selling only one brand in one size

#### SMALLER STAFF

There are up to five employees in a store at any time

#### LESS CODDLING

Customers have to bag their own groceries—and pay for the bags

BY STEVEN GRAY/CHICAGO


JUST PAST NOON, ANNA CHERNOVA, a 68-year-old retiree, pushes her black metal shopping cart into an Aldi store on Chicago's North Side. After arriving from Russia 16 years ago, Chernova regularly shopped at conventional supermarkets like Dominick's and Jewel-Osco, but no more. "They're too expensive," Chernova says, lengthy shopping list in hand. Now she visits Aldi once a week, drawn by the no-frills chain's \$2.69 gallon jugs of milk (compared with \$3.99 for a gallon of Dean whole milk at Jewel-Osco) and 33¢ boxes of salt (compared with 79¢ for a similarly sized box of Morton's). "I've got to save my pennies," she says, heading into the store.

Chernova certainly isn't alone. Spooked by the biggest economic crisis in decades, Americans are making fewer trips to supermarkets, and many are leaving comparatively upscale grocers like


Albertsons and Whole Foods in search of lower prices. According to a survey conducted last spring by TNS Retail Forward, a market-research and consulting firm based in Columbus, Ohio, 20% of respondents said they had changed which stores they go to for groceries and other household items, primarily because of the economic climate.

Enter Aldi, that spartan bastion of private-label goods where brand names like Coke and Betty Crocker have largely been banished for being too pricey. Aldi concentrates on selling core high-volume grocery products like ketchup and coffee. Want a choice in those categories? Forget it. By offering a single brand in a single size, Aldi executives say, the chain can substantially undercut conventional retailers on 90% of the products it sells.

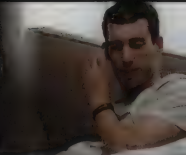
And often the private labels don't look noticeably cheaper. Consider the sleek, dark 16.9-oz. bottle of Ariel



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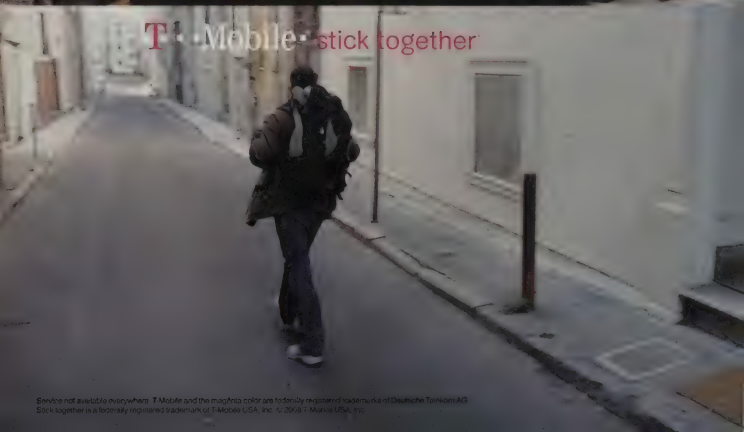


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Extra-Virgin Olive Oil for \$4.29. (A 17-oz. bottle of Bertolli's extra-virgin costs \$9.69.) "You wouldn't be embarrassed to have that on your counter," says Bill Bishop, a retail consultant.

The German-owned Aldi—short for Albrecht Discount—arrived in the U.S. in 1976, hoping to replicate a business model that had been wildly successful in Europe. With U.S. food inflation then in the double digits, the company's timing couldn't have been better. Aldi was one of the first so-called box stores, achieving rock-bottom pricing by offering a limited inventory and squeezing out all unnecessary costs, from in-store butchers to fancy displays. No credit cards or checks are accepted. And at any given time, there are no more than five staffers inside an Aldi store. For instance, during Chernova's recent trip in Chicago, there were just two cashiers, an employee

replenishing milk shelves and a security guard greeting customers. Even using a shopping cart requires a 25¢ deposit, thereby ensuring that employees spend less time chasing carts.

"Prior to the economic slowdown, we were prospering," says Jason Hart, president of Aldi U.S., based in Batavia, Ill. And now? "We're certainly getting a lot more attention." The privately held company generated an estimated \$5.8 billion in U.S. sales last year, up from \$5.3 billion in 2006, according to trade journal *Supermarket News*. Aldi now has about 950 stores in 29 states and plans to open more than 100 stores in the next two years in Connecticut, Missouri and Texas.

The company is also making a big push into Central Florida in places like Sanford, located about half an hour's drive north of Orlando. Sanford's economic-development director, Robert Tunis, had

tried for years to lure grocers. The city's demographics are attractive: its population grew 27%, to about 50,000, from 2000 to 2006. Within a few miles of downtown, Tunis says, are households with annual incomes of \$30,000 to \$250,000. That's partly what has drawn big chains like Target, Wal-Mart and Lowe's. "You name the retailers, we've got them," Tunis says, "but we've been underserved by grocers."

He was among the first to arrive at the grand opening in late September of an Aldi store in downtown Sanford, next to one of Seminole County's largest shopping centers. Now Tunis is hoping other grocers will follow Aldi's lead.

"There's really no equivalent at the moment," he says.

Aldi is able to carve a niche in neighborhoods that supermarket chains have neglected partly because its stores are typically just 10,000 sq. ft., far smaller than the 80,000-sq.-ft. palaces recently opened by Whole Foods and other big chains. The relatively small size and bare-bones operations have helped Aldi and fellow deep-discounter Save-a-Lot penetrate urban markets where real estate is generally more expensive than in suburban locales. "Both Aldi and Save-a-Lot are winning big time," consultant Bishop says, "because they have an extreme value proposition, which is appealing at a time like this."

Also compelling is Aldi's *everyday low price* policy, which strongly encourages customers to bring their own bags. How? By charging 10¢ apiece for plastic ones.

**No in-store butchers or fancy displays. No credit cards or checks either**

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## USER'S GUIDE

# Karaoke 2.0. Looking for cheap home entertainment? New karaoke sites cater to closet exhibitionists

### COSTS

**\$25**

USB microphone for your computer

**\$0-\$15**

Price per day to access a variety of karaoke sites

### PRICELESS

Discovering your stodgy co-worker is really into Kelly Clarkson

BY JOSH QUITTNER

CONGRATULATIONS, MR. President-elect. And best of luck averting Depression 2.0! In the meantime, forgive me for reaching for the panic button: with unemployment expected to move into the double digits, I'm looking for a way to survive until you get us out of this mess. So here's what I'm thinking, and please do not tell my wife: I'm planning on turning my basement into a full-service karaoke bar.

Everyone knows karaoke is huge internationally. It's getting bigger in the U.S., thanks in part to the popularity of video games like *Guitar Hero* and *Rock Band*. Which means that my home karaoke bar will need to offer more than your average console. Hence my interest in a number of karaoke sites—and maybe cocktails made with Everclear—that could help make Quittner's Qaraoke Qorner a bustling home business in 2009.

To get started, all you need is a mike (internal or usb connected) or video camera.

MySpace Karaoke (*ksolo.myspace.com*) and YouTube are free but pretty thin; it would be hard to charge my neighbors to sing along to some joker doing "Memories" on YouTube. By contrast, the Karaoke Channel Online (*thekaraokechannel.com*) streams scrolling lyrics and professional-grade karaoke, in instrumental or sing-along mode, for \$14.95 a day or \$9.95 a month for a minimum of two months. As far as I can tell, with more than 4,000 songs and close to 100 added a week, it has the biggest music library out there.

But my favorite interface is Karaoke Party (*karaokeparty.com*), where all the songs are free. (Granted, there are only 160 of them.) Since deep down, most karaoke addicts really want to be told how good they are, the site uses a Simon Cowellesque algorithm to score your performance. Co-founder Mats Fors says that after he and his partners managed complex websites for banks, building a karaoke site was easy. "We saw the opportunity for a good karaoke solution," he says. Don't we all? ■





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## RIGHT ON YOUR MONEY

# Giving Circles.

Want a bigger bang for your charitable buck? Gather friends and pool your (shrinking) resources

### HOW TO

**Form a giving circle to maximize your impact on local charities:**

**CALL A MEETING** Invite friends and family to an exploratory potluck dinner  
**CHOOSE A CAUSE** Decide on the types of charities the group wants to support

**SET A SCHEDULE** Agree on annual dues and number of meetings per year to discuss specific grants

BY DAN KADLEC

WITH THE MARKETS SINKING, a lot of retirees may be cutting back on charitable giving along with their discretionary spending. But it's still possible to effect a philanthropic impact by organizing or joining a giving circle. Much like investment clubs, giving circles consist of a small group of friends who pool their resources and gather—often over a potluck dinner—to pick charitable causes to donate to. Such circles have become especially popular among aging boomers looking for a way to bring meaning as well as fun into their retirement years.


The number of giving circles in the U.S. doubled from 2004 to 2006—to about 400, according to a study by the Forum of Regional Associations of Grantmakers in Washington. Growth has continued since then: giving circles have donated \$100 million over the past four years. And the ragged economy may be accelerating the trend. In Cadillac, Mich., Laurie Melstrom formed a giving circle in early October—just

as the stock market was swooning. "This economic downturn has a lot of people breaking out into a sweat," says the 54-year-old homemaker. "Yet everyone said, 'Count me in.'" Individually, the group's 10 or 12 prospective members can't make much difference, but together, she says, "we'll be able to make the kind of donation that our small charities are really going to need in tough times."

Members of Melstrom's group will contribute \$500 annually and meet up to four times a year to decide on local charities to support with a grant—any cause its members deem worthwhile. For instance, Party with Purpose, in Hoboken, N.J., has raised more than \$125,000 to fight Alzheimer's and help preserve the oceans. In Charleston, S.C., Chicks with Checks has contributed big bucks to battle breast cancer and support a local hospice.

To start a giving circle, simply call a meeting, agree on a mission and set dues. For more guidance, go to [givingforum.org](http://givingforum.org) and [givingcircles.org](http://givingcircles.org). At a time when many people have less, this is one way to do more. ■





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## Chance Encounter. What a meeting in Hawaii revealed about America's future President—and the world that awaits him

IT WAS THREE DAYS BEFORE THE NEW YEAR IN LATE 2006, and I was eating a burger with the traveler and writer Paul Theroux on Oahu's North Shore. Beside us in the rickety little shack was a quintessentially Hawaiian group of Chinese Americans, African Americans, semi-Southeast Asians and kids who could have been any or all of the above, waiting for the dad in the group to bring over their avocado burgers from the counter. It took Paul and me a few seconds to realize that the dad in question—who looked like a skinny teenager—was, in fact, the freshman Senator from Illinois, who was expected to enter the presidential race in the next week or two.

We couldn't help breaking in on his private moment to say hello, and Barack Obama, intruded upon in a place he'd probably come to get away from people like us, could not have been more friendly and engaged; we felt we could have talked burgers—and places and books—with him all day. But you expect that of a politician, whose livelihood depends on winning hearts. The more remarkable thing, we both felt, was that this sparkling stranger was so much like the kind of people we meet in Paris, in Hong Kong, in the Middle East: difficult to place and connected to everywhere. Like the air of his home island (not really Eastern or Western, but a vibrant mingling of the two), he spoke for the dawning global melting pot of today.

It has become part of the familiar story now, repeated so often we can barely hear it, but anyone who steps out of the U.S. today, in any direction, quickly sees that the American Century has become the Global Century and that where a generation ago much of the globe was trying to look like America, now it's America that needs to get in tune with the rest of the globe. The very presence of someone like Obama shows this is possible. But the story of the 21st century so far has been of a fast-moving train that the U.S. (like its enemies) declines to board.

Everywhere I've been this year—from Jerusalem to Japan to Colombia to Italy and back again—I've heard people essentially say that America is an overweight, white plutocrat who is not only out of touch with the world but also shows no signs of wanting to grow closer to it. This is as unfair as any image—contradicted at

every moment by the kindness and curiosity of many Americans—but it remains a potent one in a world where people communicate more with images than ideas and assumptions travel faster than truths. The best way to begin to correct it is to show the world a leader who can't really say how much he's African or Asian or American or just a product of their mixing in Hawaii. The point is not just that Obama will bring globalism to America; in his name, his face and his issues, he'll bring America back to the globe.

You could, in fact, say it is the questions that he draws from his experience that are as important as any answers he may come up with. How to make a peace between the black and the white inside him (or inside our cities and our country)? How to do right by our relatives in Africa without dishonoring the grandparents from Kansas who raised us? How to bring the modest Muslim school in Java together with Harvard Law School? The questions Obama has been thinking about all his life are the very ones that dominate the world today. And the mounting economic crisis only makes the construction of a wider identity—and conversing across the waters—more urgent, not less so.

It happened to be in Alaska the week Sarah Palin was introduced to the world, and around me I saw the America I had grown up on: full of open space and possibility, blessed with great oil reserves and immigrants from everywhere, scenically gorgeous—but tied to the go-it-alone spirit of a "last frontier." It looked as much like the America of my boyhood as Hawaii and the burger joint looked like the America of tomorrow. The kids next to us in the North Shore shack seemed much less concerned with where they came from than with where they were headed.

Barack Obama the man is sure to disappoint some of the expectations his fans have; any man would, especially in the age of the 24/7 news cycle. But the past and the future that he speaks for are precisely the ones that belong so uniquely to the new century and the 95% of humans who are our neighbors at the global burger table. It's more than possible to make your fortune in Alaska—but I'd much rather find the future in Hawaii. ■





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**Starting at \$26,870.** Its available XM NavTraffic<sup>®</sup> with real-time traffic updates isn't all that puts you ahead.\* The all-new Murano offers a powerful, award-winning V6 engine,\*\* a 5-star government rating for side-impact crash safety,† and it was the first 2009 midsize SUV to receive an IIHS Top Safety Pick!†† It's the only crossover to bring it all to you before anyone else! For additional information, please visit us online at **NissanUSA.com**.



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As shown, \$39,470; Murano LE AWD with navigation and dual panel moonroof. Prices are MSRP excluding tax, title, license and destination charge. Dealer sets actual price. \*For more information on XM NavTraffic, please visit NissanUSA.com/09Murano. \*\*WardsAuto.com, January 2008. †Government star ratings are part of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's (NHTSA's) New Car Assessment Program (www.safercar.gov). Model tested with standard side air bags. ††For more information, see www.iihs.org. †Non-luxury crossovers as defined by Ward's 2008 segmentation. ‡Used Lightly® Please. Always wear your seat belt, and please don't drink and drive. ©2008 Nissan North America, Inc.



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